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CONTENTS

Dogs of the Northeastern Woodland Indians Eva M. Butler and Wendell S. Hadlock.	17
Preliminary Report on the Ragged Mountain Site William S. Fowler	36
Archaeology of the Lower North River Valley Henry F. Howe	39
A Pot from Nook Farm Camp Site, Plymouth, Mass. William W. Whiting.	44
A Cache from Ipswich:II. Two Letters Howard A. Jones	46
An Ancient Blade Adrian P. Whiting	48

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DOGS OF THE NORTHEASTERN WOODLAND INDIANS

Eva M. Butler and Wendell S. Hadlock

From the accounts of the early explorers and settlers who came to New England and adjacent coastal areas, we can glean sufficient evidence to make us reasonably certain that the prehistoric Indian dog was much more than a half-wanted commensal haunting the camps of mankind. Ethnological and archaeological evidence also tends to support this supposition.

Wissler observed that the New World dogs served at least four purposes, "transportation, hunting, guarding and companionship or food, according to the locality." (1) The collected data indicates that the Indians of the Northeastern Area kept dogs for all of these purposes, except transportation. (2) Dogs also were accessories to ceremonial and shamanistic procedures, and dogs frequently played an important role in Indian mythology.

TYPES OF ABORIGINAL DOGS

Many of the early explorers sought to discover the origin of Indian dogs. To quote Josselyn, who spent considerable time with the Indians of southern Maine, the "Indian Dog [was] a creature begotten betwixt the Wolf and a Fox, which the Indians lighting upon" had brought up "to hunt the Deer with." He ended a discussion of native animals with an account of "Beastes" that were, as he expressed it, "begot by equivocal generation," admitting that there were "not many known in New-England," and that he "knew but one, ... the Indian dog begotten betwixt a Wolf and a Fox, or between a Fox and a Wolf, which they bring up and keep in as much subjection as they do their webbs [wives]." Josselyn believed that the Indian "breed of wild dogs" was "like to the Tassocanes or mountain dogs of Italy." (3) Bressani, the Italian Jesuit claimed, however that "even the domestic dogs" differed from those of Italy. (4) Rosier said that the Indians has both "dogges and wolves," which they kept tame. (5) Later he wrote that they had two sorts of "dogges," some like wolves, some like "Spaniels." (6) Although Rosier in his second statement implied the presence of a wolf-like dog which might have been mistaken for a tame wolf, Wolley, who lived in New York in the 1670's, said definitely that the Indian dogs actually were young wolves "stolen from their damms." (7)

Early literary and historical references to the appearance of aboriginal dogs are very inadequate for the area under discussion but we are able to glean the following descriptions. Martin Pring, who explored the coast of New England in 1603, wrote that they had "sundry sorts of Beasts" including "Wolves, Foxes, Lusernes, and Dogges with sharpe noses." (8) Later he added that the dogs had "sharpe and long noses" (9) and commented on the fact that the Indians were afraid of "Foole and Gallant" the "great and fearefull Mastives" that belonged to the ship. (10) Denys stated "the Indians have their dogs, which are a kind of Mastiff, but more lightly built," that their teeth were "longer and sharper than those of Mastiffs" and that they also had "the head of a Fox..." (11) Another reference which may indicate small size is found in Wood, who, on the authority of an "honest gentleman," claimed that an Indian had been seen "with a fillip with his finger" to "kill a dogge..." (12)

Rosier also found that the Indians were frightened by English dogs, (13) but stated that they themselves had both large and small dogs. (14) Wassenaer noted that aboriginal dogs were small and that the Indians were terrified by a huge Dutch dog. (15)

In 1534, Cartier described the "dogges" skins worn as capes and masks by some Huron Indian "powwows" on the St. Lawrence, as "white and black." (16) Sagard stated that the Huron Indian dogs were "black or white," (17) while Brebeuf mentioned a "white" dog and LeMercier a "red." (18)

It appears that the early writers were in agreement concerning the general description of aboriginal dogs. They were not considered as large dogs when compared with European breeds. They had narrow heads with long noses and large teeth. The colors mentioned were black, white and red or brown.

NATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD DOGS

The Indians in this area seem to have usually treated their dogs with affection and even with respect and esteem.

According to an old legend, the mythical

1. Wissler, 1938, p. 30
2. Millais, 1907, p. 145
3. Josselyn, 1833, p. 274
4. Thwaites, Vol. XXXVII, p. 241
5. Rosier, 1906, p. 377
6. Ibid., p. 393

7. Wolley, 1860, p. 33
8. Pring, 1906, p. 346
9. Ibid., p. 350
10. Ibid., pp. 348, 351
11. Deny, 1908, p. 428
12. Wood, 1898, p. 60

13. Rosier, 1906, p. 374
14. Ibid., p. 393
15. Wassenaer, 1909, p. 80
16. Cartier, 1906, p. 52
17. Sagard, 1939, p. 118
18. Thwaites, Vol. VIII, p. 125

giant Maushop, the first Indian to live on Martha's Vineyard, floated there on a cake of ice, with only a dog for companionship. (19) Denys wrote that the Indians "cherished" their dogs greatly and "if they have little ones which the mother cannot nourish, the women sucke them." (20) Sagard wrote as follows concerning the feeding of Huron children and puppies that were too young to take solid foods:

If the mother happens to die before the child is weaned the father takes water in which Indian corn has been thoroughly boiled and fills his mouth with it, then putting the child's mouth against his own makes it take and swallow the liquid, and this is to make up for the lack of the breast and of pap; just so I saw it done by the husband of the woman savage whom we baptized. The women use the same method in feeding the puppies of their bitches, but I found this very displeasing and nasty, to put their mouth in this way to the puppies' muzzles, which are often not too clean. (21)

Denys said that

their wealth was in proportion to their Dogs, and as a testimony to a friend of the esteem in which they held him, they gave him that Dog to eat which they valued the most; a mark of friendship. (22)

Le Jeune stated that among the Huron, dogs "are held as dear as the children of the house, and share the beds, plates, and food of their masters." (23) Another instance recorded by Le Jeune illustrated the love and affection that a young Indian girl had for her dogs. After her death, the girl's body was given to the Jesuits for burial with the request that her grave be made large as her relatives wished to bury her belongings with her. Among the possessions were her two dogs. The Jesuits would not permit the burial of dogs in the cemetery. The relatives asked permission "to bury them near" the cemetery; "for the dead girl loved them," and it was a part of their custom "to give to the dead what they loved or possessed when they were living." (24)

EARLY ATTITUDE OF THE ENGLISH TOWARD INDIAN DOGS

Many references are so indefinite that it is impossible to determine whether or not the dogs owned by the Indians in early colonial times were aboriginal dogs or some which they had obtained from the English, but it is interesting to trace the sentiments of the English toward the Indian and his dog through old court records and early writings. All statements indicate that in Indian villages, dogs were ubiquitous and universally disliked by the settlers, who complained

about them frequently, and often ordered them put to death.

Although it is usually implied that the colonists objected to the Indian dogs because of the harm inflicted upon their cattle and swine, there is a strong suspicion that many of the settlers wished to exterminate the dogs because they usually gave warning to the Indians that their enemies were approaching.

When a band of soldiers landed on the isle of Manisses, now Block Island, in 1636, to search for the Indians who had killed John Oldham, an Indian trader, they found that the inhabitants, warned of their coming had fled. In an attempt to cripple and punish them, the soldiers "burnt their houses, cut down their corn, destroyed some of their dogs instead of men." (25) The spring after the soldiers from Massachusetts had killed these dogs, some of the same men were with the party that attacked the Pequot fort at Mystic, Connecticut. At that time the bark of a watch dog inside the stockade surrounding the village gave belated warning to the sleeping Indians that their enemies were upon them. (26)

Most of the colonies passed laws regulating the keeping of dogs.

Soon after Connecticut was settled, an act was passed making it an offense punishable with a fine of ten pounds to "sell," "barter," or "give to any Indian either directly or indirectly any dogg or doggs, small or great..." Thus dogs were included in the same category as military weapons--shot, lead, shot moulds, armor and arrowheads. (27)

An act was also passed making the "Sachem or Chiefe" of each band of Indians liable for "trespasses" against the English. One of the most serious trespasses complained of was the "spoyling or killing of any Cattle or Swine, either with trapps, doggs, or arrowes..." (28)

In 1638 Mantowese, sachem of the Quinnipiac Indians, sold the land in the vicinity of New Haven, Connecticut, to Mr. Theophilus Eaton, the Rev. Mr. John Davenport and other settlers. When he made the sale, Mantowese reserved planting land for his tribe, promising that "what harme their doggs doe" to the cattle of the English, they would "satisfye for." (29)

In Rhode Island in 1652, Ninegret, sachem of the Nehantic-Narragansett Indians, complained to the Commissioners of the

19. Basset, 1792

20. Denys, p. 429

21. Sagard, p. 128

22. Op. cit., p. 430

23. Thwaites, Vol. XVII, p. 13

24. Thwaites, Vol. VIII, p. 267

25. Underhill, 1837, p. 7

26. Mason, 1819, p. 138

27. Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Vol. 1, 1850, p. 528

28. Ibid., p. 529

29. Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven, p. 7

United Colonies that he had "bought a great mastiff dog of Robert Cole and gave him forty shillings for him" and that the dog had later run home to Cole who had killed it. The Commissioners ordered Mr. Brown, the Plymouth delegate, to look into the matter. If Mr. Brown found that Ninegret spoke the truth, he was to "write to Coale to return the forty shillings to Ninegrett." (30)

In 1661 the town of Providence, Rhode Island, ordered that

Vallentine Whittman and Thomas Clemence shall goe unto the Indians dwelling at pomecansett, and unto the other Indians living neere this Towne; And warne them to Take some Course with their Dogges, to Keep them from Falling upon English Cattle (o)r Else they must Expect to have their Dogges killed. (31)

In 1650 the town of Easthampton, Long Island, passed a law prohibiting the selling of dogs "young or ould to any Indian upon the penaltie of paying 30s." (32)

Southold made a similar law in 1659 and recorded that it would be "lawful for any of our inhabitants findeing any Indian or Indians with any gunn or gunns, boe or booes and arrowes, dogg or doggs, upon any part of our tract of Land adjoyning to Hashammuck.. to take and sease upon the same and to bring all and every the matters so taken and seized as aforesaid forthwith to the authority..." (33)

At Hempsted, Long Island, in 1658, the settlers protested that the Indians had agreed to kill off their dogs at the time of the sale. The petitioners claimed that the Indians would not lay out the land and further alleged that while they "brought use some of their dogs and killed them," they had "preserved some of the best, Contrary to their agreement..." (34)

May 13, 1660, the case came up again. This time, two Indians, Reckomacke and Marsepin, were sent as deputies by the chief sachem "Meantinnemin", with instructions to answer the complaints of the settlers that the "savages would not remove from the land.. and that the savages dogs did much damage to the animals of the English..." The Indians answered the charge by saying that "they had not sold the land, but only the grass upon it."

The court, after hearing "both sides.. decided, that the savages should be allowed to harvest their corn this year, on condition of enclosing their fields and killing their great dogges." Their future use of the land was contingent upon their carrying out the orders of the English. (35)

Easthampton's difficulties were not settled by their first law and on January 23, 1682, at a "publick town meeting" it was voted that "warning bee given to ye Indians to kill all their doggs unless one to a wigwam, but if they neglect or refuse to do it in a Fort nights time then it shalbe Lawfull for any English to kill all ye Indian doggs yt they can meete with." (36)

Even as late as 1712 we find that the inhabitants of Easthampton were still disturbed by the presence of numerous Indian dogs and further action was taken to curtail the number of dogs kept by each Indian. (37)

Despite these and similar laws and orders enacted in other places, the Indians continued to keep their own dogs and to secure English dogs, for, as Josselyn aptly put it, the dogs of the English were "much better for the turns" of the Indians and for that reason they would "store themselves with them." (38)

It is obvious from these references that many of the English had little understanding of the Indians need of and liking for dogs, for they frequently became involved in disastrous disputes over trifling depredations committed, or alleged to have been committed by Indian dogs. There were a few settlers, however, who felt that some of their neighbors were too intolerant. In answer to the accusation that many of the English were ready to plunge into wars over dogs and horses, Governor Prince of Plymouth wrote to Daniel Gookin, "you state about not fighting with Indians about horses and dogs as matters too low to cause blood shed, and verily, Sir, we think so too." (39) Notwithstanding these noble sentiments, many hostilities between the Indians and English can be traced to the loss of a small amount of personal property.

INDIAN USE OF DOGS FOR COMPANIONSHIP and HUNTING

There are numerous references to the aboriginal dog as a household pet or companion. In 1604 Rosier and his men saw an assemblage of some two hundred and eighty-three Indians, probably on Pemaquid Peninsula, "every one with his bowe and arrowes, with their dogges and wolves." (40) When the Pilgrims arrived on Cape Cod in November, 1620, the first Indians sighted were accompanied by a "dogg." (41) As soon as the Indians discovered the Englishmen, they ran into the woods and "whisled the dogge after them." (43) Wolley told of seeing the "wolf-like" dogs of the Indians following them in the same way that the white man's dog followed him. (44) In addition to their companionship and assistance while hunting, dogs were welcomed as sleeping companions, for the warmth of their

30. Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Vol. II, p. 168

31. Providence, Early Records, Vol. III, p. 7

33. Southold, Town Records, Vol. I, p. 332

35. Ibid., p. 474

38. Josselyn, p. 274

40. Rosier, p. 377

44. Thwaites, Vol. VII, p. 43; Vol XVII, p. 13; and Vol XXVIII, p. 215

36. Easthampton, Town Records, Vol. II, p. 118

39. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st ser., Vol VI, p. 200

41. Bradford, p. 98

42. Cheever, p. 32

43. Wolley, p. 43

32. Gardiner, 1870, p. 230

34. O'Callaghan and Fernow, Vol. XIV, p. 411

37. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 287

bodies took the place of blankets. LeJeune, writing of the Montagnais in 1634, mentioned the Montagnais dog as one of the discomforts of the savages' home.

I do not know that I ought to blame them, for they have sometimes rendered me good service. True, they exacted from me the same courtesy they gave, so that we reciprocally aided each other, illustrating the idea of *mutuum auxilium*. These poor beasts, not being able to live outdoors, come and lay down sometimes upon my shoulders, sometimes upon my feet, and as I only had one blanket to serve both as covering and mattress, I was not sorry for this protection, willingly restoring to them a part of the heat which I drew from them. It is true that, as they were large and numerous, they occasionally crowded and annoyed me so much, that in giving me a little heat they robbed me of my sleep, so that I very often drove them away. (44)

Dogs were important as hunting aids to the people inhabiting the regions of the St. Lawrence River and westward through the Huron country. (45) Sagard wrote in his Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, of the hunting dogs

that although these do not bark, yet they understand quite well how to discover the lair of the animal they are looking for. When it is found, the men pursue it courageously and never leave it until they have brought it down, finally having wearied it to death they get their dogs to worry it so that it must fall. They then cut open the belly, give the quarry to the dogs, have a feast, and carry off the remainder. (46)

It is interesting to note that Alexander Henry, in writing of his captivity among the Huron in the early part of the nineteenth century, mentioned dogs used in hunting, saying

As soon as a dog falls on a fresh track of the raccoon he gives notice by a cry, and immediately pursues. His barking enables the hunter to follow. (47)

In Denys' accounts of the Indians in the Gaspé region in the seventeenth century we find a good description of the use of dogs in hunting.

When they took their Dogs to hunt the Moose in spring, summer, and autumn, the Dogs would run about for some time, some in one direction and some in another. The one which first met some track followed it without giving tongue. If he overtook the beast, he got in front of it, jumping for the nose. Then he howled. The Moose amused himself, and whisked to kick the Dog in front. All the other Dogs which heard it came running up and attacked it from all sides. It defended itself with its feet in front; the Dogs tried to seize its nose or ears. In the meantime the Indian arrives, and tries without being seen to approach within shot below the wind. For if the animal perceives him or his smell, the Moose takes to flight and scorns the dogs, unless the hunter gives it an arrow-shot. Being injured, it has difficulty in saving itself from the Dogs, which followed it incessantly, as does also the Indian, who overtakes it and shoots again. But sometimes the Dogs, which have seized the ears or the muzzle, drag it to earth before the Indian has come up. They are not inclined to abandon it, for very often they have had nothing to eat for seven to eight days. The Indian arrives, completes the kill, splits open the belly, and gives all the entrails to his Dogs, which have a great junket. It is this which makes the Dogs keen in the chase...

In commenting on the hunting of lynxes with dogs, Denys said,

This animal mounts into a tree where it is easily killed, whilst the Dogs are terrifying it with their barkings. All the other animals are not really difficult to kill, and there is not one of them capable of attacking a man, at least unless it be attached first.

Denys also told how dogs were used to hunt beaver, saying

As for that (hunting) of the Beavers, it also was done in winter with Dogs, but they were only used to find the houses in which they smelled the Beavers through the ice. (48)

While there are numerous accounts both definite and inferential as to the use of dogs in hunting in the Maritime Provinces and northern New England evidence for the use of dogs in hunting, in southern New England is less clear.

44. Thwaites, Vol. VII, P. 43, and Vol. XVII, P. 13, Vol. XXVII, P. 215.

45. To be assured of a successful hunt a "leave-nothing" feast was often held by Indians of the St. Lawrence regions. Such a feast was described by Le Jeune as follows: "As to their 'leave nothing' feasts, ... this is one of their great devotions because they make these feasts in order to have a successful chase. They must be very careful that the dogs taste nothing of this, or all will be lost, and their hunting will be worthless." Thwaites, Vol. VI, P. 283

Champlain, writing of the Indians along the St. Lawrence, said they used dogs as napkins when their hands became covered with fat from holding their food. He also mentions the great numbers that were owned for use in hunting and described a "Tabagie" in which they feasted on elk meat, danced around with dogs which they threw violently to the ground in front of the "Great Sagamore" as everyone cried out, "Ho, ho, ho!" He said that this celebration was held in honor of victory which they had obtained over the Iroquois. Champlain, 1603, P. 236

46. Sagard, 1939, p. 100

47. Drake, 1844, p. 312

48. Denys, pp. 430-434.

DOGS AS FOOD

According to Josselyn, the Indians of southern Maine tamed dogs with which to hunt. (49) When they were hunting moose with lances in winter, they would run their quarry down and "if any of their dogs..came near," the moose would jerk "out his heels" and strike like a horse with force enough to break any small tree that happened in the way. (50)

William Wood, writing in 1634, stated that,

For their hunting, it is to be noted that they have no swift foote Grayhounds, to let slippe at the sight of a Deer, no deep mouthed hounds or senting beagles to fine out their desired prey; themselves are all this. (51)

In a chapter which he devotes to hunting and hunting devices, Roger Williams wrote, "Anunwock, Dogs", but gave no explanation as to what use, if any, the Narragansett Indians made of dogs. (52) The presence of dogs among the Block Island Indians and the purchase of a mastiff by Sachem Ninegret, as noted previously, coupled with Williams' note would lead to the inference that dogs were, as in other areas, linked with hunting activities.

Ben Uncas, who later became sachem of the Mohegan Indians, petitioned in October, 1717, that he had been "ignorant" of a law passed in October, 1715, "for the better Preservation and Increase of Deer" within the Colony of Connecticut. (53) His "Son, a Young Lad..Incouraged thereto by Exemples of the English..." had the previous winter killed with "his dog" a number of deer in the vicinity of Hebron and Colchester. A complaint had been lodged against the boy who had been seized and brought by a special writ before William Pitkin, Esq., who had fined him five pounds. (54) The testimony offered as evidence in the court case is important as through it we learn definitely that the Mohegan Indians hunted deer with dogs.

References to the eating of dog flesh as a delicacy in southern New England are few in comparison to those for adjacent areas, but there are enough of them to show that it occurred.

When Henry Hudson made his journey up the river which now bears his name, he was taken to the wigwam of some Indians, probably Mahicans, who "killed at once a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste, with shells which they got out of the water," then promptly cooked and served it to their guests. (55)

William Wood, who lived in Massachusetts, heard of an Indian who had killed a dog and proceeded to quickly skin, cook, and eat it. (56)

From our meager information it would seem as if the Indians of southern New England did not generally use dogs as food. However, in times of famine, dogs were eaten by these and other Indians, as well as by the English Colonists.

Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, who was captured by the Wampanoag Indians during King Phillip's war and forced to flee with them from one hide-out to another, said that they were obliged to eat all kinds of food, including "dogs, skunks, rattle-snakes, yea the very bark of trees," to keep themselves alive. (57)

Wolley wrote of the Indians about New York, in 1678, "when they are very hungry they will eat their Dogs." He followed this remark with a comment; "they would not eat our Dogs because they say we feed them with salt meat," for the Indians not having used salt before the coming of the white man, did not like the taste of salty food. (58)

An anonymous attack on Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts, and the Dudley

49. Josselyn, pp. 273, 296

50. Ibid., pp. 303 and 304.

Biard also mentions the hunting of beaver and deer with the aid of dogs.

Thwaites, Vol. III, p. 79

51. Wood, p. 92

52. Williams, 1643, p. 141

53. The Law of 1715 prohibited the killing of deer at "unseasonable times" or from the middle of January until the first of July, according to the calendar then in use, which was about eleven days behind that of the present day. Deer were already growing scarce around the settlements, since great numbers had "been hunted and destroyed in deep snows when they were very poor and big with young" and the "flesh and skins of very little value."

For the first offense the fine was ten shillings, twenty shillings for the second, forty for the third and three pounds for each offence thereafter--- one half to be paid to the county treasurer and the other half to go into the pocket of the informer.

Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 1706-1716, Hartford, 1870, p. 524.

54. The fine was paid by Ben Uncas to keep his son from being sold into servitude, although he could ill afford to lose such a large amount of money. Ben sent a note to the legislature to say that the payment of the fine had been "very greivous" to him for it had meant "greatly impoverishing" his family. He asked that the case be reconsidered and if the fine were returned to him, he promised to conform to the law in the future "Unless pinching Necessitie" did "force him upon violation thereof." Ben's humble prayer was heard and granted in the Upper House but the Lower saw no good reason to return the money. Manuscript petition, State Archives of Indian Papers, Vol. I, p. 85.

55. "DeLaet's New World", 1909, p. 49

56. Wood, p. 60

57. Drake, p. 54

58. Wolley, 1860, p. 45

Indian policy, charged that some warring Indians, who had been without food for three days, prepared to roast and eat a white child captive. They were "providentially" prevented from carrying out their act by the arrival of other Indians who substituted a dog for the child. (59)

The Huron and other Indian tribes inhabiting areas where game animals were scarce raised dogs especially for food. They seem to have filled the place of sheep and swine in other cultures. (60) At first the English and French felt the same aversion to eating dogs that the average person would have about eating a pet lamb. When they became accustomed to it, they frequently admitted that they liked the meat, stating that it tasted like pork.

Indian hunters apparently considered stray dogs fair game, if found on the trail or in the woods. Sagard wrote that while returning to Quebec his party of savages killed a wandering dog and cooked it for supper. (61) The Montagnais, who lived in an area where there was a relative abundance of game animals, were said not to have eaten dog meat, even when they were starving. They gave as a reason for the taboo, if a "dog was killed to be eaten, a man would be killed by blows from an axe." (62)

CEREMONIAL EATING OF DOGS

The eating of dog flesh was an important aspect of ceremonies preparatory to death and to war and was intended to ward off sickness or other misfortune. When a man was about to die, he made a "tabagie," or solemn feast, for his relatives and friends. From his place on a beautiful robe, he delivered his funeral oration, told of his heroic deeds, gave directions to his family, and made recommendations to his friends. While the feast was being prepared, his friends and relatives gave him presents of "dogs, skins, arrows" or whatever he wished... especially if he had dreamed that a certain thing would help him. The dogs were killed "in order to send them on before him into the other world," that he might have a "forerunner" there. Later the dogs were cooked and eaten at the tabagie, which was followed by singing and dancing. (63) After the tabagie "it

was no longer lawful for the sick man to eat or to ask any help, but he must already consider himself one of the 'manes' or citizens of the other world, and he was left to die alone." With the deceased were buried his personal possessions, including "even his dogs if they had not been eaten." (64)

John Gyles, who was captured by the Penobscot-Malecite Indians in 1689 and kept in captivity by them for many years, became familiar with their ceremonies and customs. He said, "The Indians imagine that dog's flesh makes them bold and courageous. I have seen an Indian split a dog's head with a hatchet, take out the brains hot, and eat them raw with the blood running down his jaws!" (65)

Gyles also described with considerable detail a recruiting ceremony which he witnessed. He said:

Of their feasting. 1. Before they go to war. When the Indians determine on war, or are entering upon a particular expedition, they kill a number of their dogs, burn off their hair and cut them to pieces, leaving only one dog's head whole. The rest of the flesh they boil, and made a fine feast of it. Then the dog's head that was left whole is scorched, till the nose and lips have shrunk from the teeth, leaving them bare and grinning. This done, they fasten it on a stick, and the Indian who is proposed to be chief in the expedition takes the head into his hand, and sings a warlike song, in which he mentions the town they design to attack, and the principal man in it; threatening that in a few days, he will carry that man's head and scalp in his hand, in the same manner. When the chief has finished singing, he so places the dog's head as to grin at him who he supposes will go his second, who, if he accepts, takes the head in his hand and sings; but if he refuses to go, he turns the teeth to another; and thus from one to another till they have enlisted their company.

In connection with this ceremony Gyles remarked that the Indians believed the eating of "dog's flesh" made them "bold and courageous." (66)

Cotton Mather wrote that when the Indians had any "weighty undertaking before them," it was

59. Another anonymous writer in answer to the charge, said that the humanity of the Indians was remarkable that a "Dog though but half a Meal to them" had been substituted for the child, for in his own mind he had no doubt that "half a Dozen hungry Christians,... if they had Eat no Victuals for three days," would have had the "child" disposed of by "Boyling and Roasting" before the dog arrived. "Deplorable State of New England," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4 ser., Vol. VI, 1879. p. 58, and "A Modest Inquiry, etc.," *Ibid.*, p. 86
60. Le Jeune wrote of the Hurons, "As for meat, there being no hunting where they are, they will not eat it six times a year, unless they eat their dogs, as the people do, who raise these animals as they do sheep in France; their drink will be water." Thwaites, Vol. VII, p. 223
61. Sagard, 1939, p. 259
62. Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 221
63. Thwaites, Vol. II, pp. 15, 17
64. Thwaites, Vol. III, p. 131
65. Drake, 1844, pp. 96, 97
66. *Ibid.*, p. 97

an usual thing for them to have their assemblies, wherein after the usage of some diabolical rites, a devil appears unto them, to inform them and advise them about their circumstances; and sometimes there are odd events of their making these applications to the devil: for instance, it is particularly affirmed that the Indians, in their wars with us, finding a sore inconvenience of our dogs, which would make a sad yelling if in the night they scented the approaches of them, they sacrificed a dog to the devil; after which no English dog would bark at an Indian for divers months ensuing. (67)

This custom of feasting on dogs preparatory to entering upon warfare appears to have been widely distributed throughout the northeastern woodland areas inhabited by hunting nomadic tribes. (68)

The "medicine sing" played an important part in aboriginal culture, and the sacrifice of dogs was a dominant feature in many of the medicine sings. A medicine man among the Huron, called in to "try to cure" a sick person, among other things demanded that "the dogs must not howl, for his cures are only made in silence;" he must be allowed to apply his remedies in secret, and "the Sky must be clear." (69)

Dog feasts were commonly part of curing ceremonies which often lasted three days and nights. LeJeune tells of such a meal being prepared for a sick woman who felt wonderfully well in "consequence" of it, especially "because she began to open her eyes while the dog was still half alive on the coals." (70) Although the treatment of sick persons did not in all instances require the sacrifice of a dog, they often dreamed that the acquisition of certain articles were necessary for their cure. (71) The patient's desires were made known to the rest of the village by his friends or relatives and whenever possible these requests were granted. (72)

While the ceremonies were in progress, most of the people who lived in the patient's village, "adorned or daubed in their fashion, vying with one another in the frightful con-

tortions of their faces" would "undertake to run wherever the sick" person had passed. Acting as if they had gone mad, they entered wherever they wished

and have during the time of the feast, in all the evenings and nights of the three days that it lasts, liberty to do anything, and no one dares say a word to them: If they find kettles over the fire, they upset them; they break the earthen pots, knock down the dogs, throw fire and ashes everywhere, so thoroughly that often the cabins and entire villages burn down. (73)

During the final rampage of the patient, everyone except the patient and his escorts remained indoors. It was dangerous to be abroad on those nights as evil spirits were present. A "prominent young man" who was "acting the madman, encountered a specter or demon, with whom he had some words." He was so much upset by this meeting "that he fell down, and actually became insane." The treatment suggested was that they should promptly "kill two dogs, and, among others, one which he held especially dear," and to make a feast of them. This was done and the patient "finally returned to his senses." (74)

Tscondacouané, a sorcerer or medicine-man of the Huron, who had learned many secret remedies, was once told by some "spirits" that they planned to carry him away. In order to prevent this "they recommended to him strongly the feasts of the Aoutaerohi, (75) adding that they feared nothing so much as those." When they seemed about to carry him away, "he resisted them so well that they left him to make a feast of a dog,--threatening to come and get him the next day, in case he failed to do this." Tscondacouané told his story to the Indian "captain" who "reported the matter in open council." A dog was found immediately and all the people assembled. As soon as they were gathered together the "sorcerer" began to "cry out that the devils were coming to carry him away." He told the people "that all should sing a certain song" to prevent his capture. Before the feast was over he

67. Mather, 1855, Vol. I, p. 560

68. Thwaites, Vol. XX, p. 169

69. Thwaites, Vol. VIII, p. 33

70. Ibid., p. 31

71. In one case among the articles requested were "six dogs of a certain form and color."

Thwaites, Vol. XVII, p. 169

Another patient requested for his recovery, "The first is, that I be given a dog which shall be made to bear the name of some person of consideration. The second, that I be given an adopted son, who shall be called Wisante:... The third, that an eat-all feast be made."

Thwaites, Vol. XXXI, p. 263

72. Sagard wrote, "And if during a dream or delirium it comes into their mind that someone much make them a present of a dog, black or white, or a great fish for a feast, or else some other thing for a different purpose, forthwith proclamation is made all over the town, so that should anyone have such a thing as is specified he may make a present of it to such and such a sick woman for the recovery of her health.."

Sagard, p. 118

73. Thwaites, Vol. XVII, p. 177

74. Ibid., p. 197

75. LeJeune explained the aoutaerohi as "a remedy which is only for one particular kind of disease, which they call also aoutaerohi, from the name of a little demon as large as the first, which they say is in the body of the sick man, especially in the part which pains him. To drive away this demon, they make feasts, that they accompany with songs which very few indeed can sing".

Thwaites, Vol. X, pp. 183, 185

had several encounters with the "demons" but at the end they said to him "Tscondacouané, thou art now safe: we can do nothing more to thee, thou art associated with us, thou must live hereafter as we do; and we must reveal to thee our food, which is nothing more than clear soup with strawberries." Since this feast took place in January, it might seem as if Tscondacouané would have difficulty in securing enough food to keep alive; however, most of the Indians kept quantities of dried strawberries, "and vied with one another in eating them, in order not to be sick." (76)

SUPERNATURAL POWER OF DOGS

Reference to the supernatural power of dogs as well as of certain other animals, is found in Le Jeune's Relation of 1636 describing the killing by magic of another shaman. Le Jeune wrote:

It is a question of killing one another here, they say, by charms which they throw at each other, and which are composed of Bears' claws, Wolves' teeth, Eagles' talons, certain stones, and Dogs' sinews. Having fallen under the charm and been wounded, blood pours from the mouth and nostrils, or it is simulated by a powder they take by stealth;... (77)

Wassenaer noted that the Indians of New York held the belief that dogs themselves had sachems or rulers. Being afraid of a large-size Dutch dog on one of the ships, they called him a sachem of dogs. (78) Le Jeune said

They also say that all animals, of every species, have an elder brother, who is, as it were, the source and origin of all individuals, and this elder brother is wonderfully great and powerful.

The "elder brothers" were much larger than the common run of animals and were considered to be "juniors of the Messou." (79) Among the Montagnais "Attimonai oukhiiman," meant he is the captain or leader of the dogs. (80)

The Indians of Acadia believed that dogs had "immortal and reasonable souls." The old men of the tribe all were familiar with and related "certain fables" in connection with this. As noted in the section on Ceremonies Connected with Death and Mourning, a dog was often killed to accompany his master on his final journey or to precede him in the hereafter. (81) Father Biard in writing about the burial customs of the Indians of Port Royal said,

they bury with the dead man all that he owns, such as his bag, his arrows, his skins and all his other articles and baggage, even his dogs if they have not been eaten. (82)

Dogs were supposed to have the ability to talk. Le Jeune mentions that a little Indian convert of the Jesuits expected his dog to say "the Benedicta" in return for food which had been given to him. (83)

The giving of personal names to dogs may have been widespread. Le Jeune wrote of the Huron Indian whose dog disappeared while hunting and was believed to have been killed by a bear. The owner was disconsolate over the loss of his pet and reacted much as he would have if a human being had been the victim, saying,

I dearly loved Ouaitit [the name of the dog]; I had resolved to keep him with me all his life; there was no dream that would have influenced me to make a feast of him,--I would not have given him for anything in the world... yet it would be some consolation to me now if they had brought me a little Bear, which would take his place and carry on his name... (84)

TABOOS REGARDING DOGS

Many Indians considered it dangerous to eat the liver of dogs and a story was current among the early Jesuits that a starving young Frenchman ate the liver of a dog in spite of warning that "it would do him harm, and make his skin fall off." Being hungry and disbelieving the tale, he had cooked and eaten the liver "but to his regret,--for it cost him his skin, which fell off in great flakes without any pain, so that in a short time his skin was entirely changed." (85)

There is considerable evidence that the Indians never gave the bones of certain animals to dogs. Le Jeune said,

The Savages do not throw to the dogs the bones of female Beavers and Porcupines,--at least, certain specified bones; in short, they are very careful that the dogs do not eat any bones of birds and of other animals which are taken in the net, otherwise they will take no more except with incomparable difficulties. Yet they make a thousand exceptions to this rule, for it does not matter if the vertebrae or rump of these animals be given to the dogs, but the rest must be thrown into the fire. Yet, as to the Beaver which has been taken in a trap, it is best to throw its bones into a river. It is remarkable how they gather and collect these bones, and preserve them with so much care, that you would say their game would be lost if they violated their superstitions.

76. Thwaites, Vol. XIII, p. 229

77. Thwaites, Vol. X, p. 209

78. Wassenaer, 1909, p. 80

79. Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 159

80. Thwaites, Vol. VII, p. 63

81. Thwaites, Vol. III, p. 131

82. Ibid., p. 131

83. Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 139

84. Thwaites, Vol. XIV, p. 35

85. Thwaites, Vol. XXVIII, p. 27

Le Jeune said that he had told the Indians that the beaver did not know what was done with their bones and such precautions were useless. The Indians answered, "Thou doest not know how to take Beavers, and thou wishest to talk about it."

Before the Beaver was entirely dead, they told me, its soul comes to make the round of the Cabin of him who had killed it, and looks very carefully to see what is done with its bones; if they are given to the dogs, the other Beavers would be apprised of it and therefore they would make themselves hard to capture. (86)

In connection with the ceremonies related to the eating of bear meat, Le Jeune said,

the dogs must be sent away, lest they lick the blood, or eat the bones, or even the offal of this beast, so greatly is it prized. The latter are buried under the fireplace, and the former are thrown into the fire. (87)

They were also careful to gather together and throw all the bones which were left after the feast, which was given in honor of the death of someone, into the fire. (88) Dogs were also supposed to be out of the village during curing ceremonies. (89)

THE TERM "DOG" USED AS EPHITHET

The use of the word "dog", metaphorically to denote contempt had a wide distribution. Father Biard wrote that the Indian husbands often beat their wives with very little provocation. On one occasion a "Frenchman undertook to rebuke a Savage for this, the Savage answered angrily: 'How now, have you nothing to do but to see into my house, every time I strike my dog?'" (90) Other expressions showing contempt among the Huron and other Indians living along the St. Lawrence waterway were "Thou art less than a wolf or a dog," and "he is captain of the dogs." (91)

Roger Williams made the statement that "The Indians count of Men as Dogs, It is no Wonder then, They teare out one anothers throats!" There may be implications in this statement that we cannot validly deduce from our present knowledge or it may be simply that Williams was referring to the Indian propensity to use the word metaphorically.

Williams further noted that the Indians, refusing to make war when mocked by an unim-

portant person, would say, "should I hazard the lives of my precious Subjects, them and theirs to kindle a Fire, which no man knowes how farre, and how long it will burne, for the barking of a Dog." (92) Mrs. Rowlandson, who was held captive by the Wampanoag during King Philip's war, remarked that the shaman had considerable forebodings about their making an attack on Sudbury. His apprehensions apparently dampened the spirits of the warriors who, although they killed many people and brought back a captive, "came home without that rejoicing and triumphing over their victory which they were wont to show at other times; but rather like dogs, as they say, which have lost their ears." They seemed to know that it was their last important victory. (93)

Thomas Stanton, Jr., when offering testimony to prove that Mahomet and not Ben Uncas, was the legal heir of Old Uncas, sachem of the Mohegan Indians, attested that the great sachem Uncas had told him that his son Ben Uncas was "poquiam" or half-dog, his mother having been an "inferior" squaw. (94) If Stanton's interpretation is correct, "poquiam" may contain within it the element "-aiam," one of the New England Algonkian terms for dog. "Poquiam" may have been commonly used to designate a person who was "not Wholly of the Royal Blood"—in this case of the Pequot-Mohegan Indians. Uncas, himself, whose mother was part Narraganset, frequently signed his name "Poquiam." (95)

Roger Williams, writing in 1648, gave another metaphorical use of the word. At that time Ninegret, known as Nenekunet, sachem of the Narraganset Indians, ever jealous of Wequashcuck, his nephew who was also his brother-in-law, and later stepfather of his daughter's husband, was apprehensive that the Englishmen would restore to Wequashcuck the territories in the Pequot country that the Narraganset Indians had used after the Pequot war. Ninegret suggested to Williams that he urge the English to accept Wequashcuck, Cassicinamon, (the English appointed leader of the Nameaug-Pequot Indians), and "the rest of the Pequots" as their "little dogs." He importuned them not to recognize them as "confederates" saying they were "unworthy." (96)

When the Indians offered to be as the white men's "little dogs," they offered much—to lie as watch-dogs on the frontiers, to protect their friends from skulking

86. Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 211

87. Le Jeune explained that when a bear is killed, two feasts are held. At the first, men and older women are invited. The second is an "eat-all feast" and only men are present. Young women and girls as well as dogs were banished from the village during the time that these feasts were being carried on. Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 217

88. Thwaites, Vol. IV, p. 201, *Ibid.*, p. 217

89. Thwaites, Vol. VIII, p. 31

90. Thwaites, Vol. III, p. 103

91. Thwaites, Vol. II, p. 149, Vol. VII, pp. 63, 77

92. Williams, 1866, p. 202

93. Drake, 1846, p. 49

94. Stanton

95. Archives of Indian Papers, Vol. II, p. 120a.

96. Williams, 1846

enemies, to fight for them if the need arose, to be their humble but dependable friends, companions and servants--asking little but giving much. The sad part of the story is that in most cases the white men failed to recognize the implications bound up in this offer. In their overwhelming desire for more obvious gains, they ignored or refused the proffered assistance which would have made the colonial trails less dangerous and far more pleasant highways.

DOGS AS GUARDIANS

Dogs acted as guardians of the Indians themselves and their personal property as noted in the earlier chapters; there seems to be some ground for the inference that the Indian's dependence on the faithful dog went even beyond the grave. In southern New England there is one early reference to a dog placed before the entrance to the Indian paradise to sort out the good Indians from the bad. William Wood wrote in 1634,

... yet do they hold the immortality of the never-ending soul, that it shall passe to the South-west Elysium...at the portall whereof they say, lies a great Dogge, whose churlish snarlings deny a Pax intratibus, to unworthy intruders: Wherefore it is their custome, to bury with them their Bows and Arrowes, and good store of their Wampompeage and Mowhackies; the one to affright the affronting Cerberus the other to purchase more immense prerogatives in their Paradise. (97)

The myth that places a dog as one of the obstacles in the path of the soul is well-known for Huron, Iroquois, (98) Cherokee, (99) Eskimo, (100) and other tribes in North America and among the Chuckchee (101) and Koryak (102) of northeastern Asia. Wood's reference, quoted above, makes it possible for us to add the Indians of southern New England to the groups holding this belief.

As noted earlier, a dog was often killed so that his soul would precede that of his master into the other world that he might have a "forerunner" there. (104)

There are numerous references to dogs acting as vicars for men. Lalemont records an instance where a man dreamed that he was about to be taken prisoner by the Iroquois. After undergoing certain ordeals

they left him an opening by which he might issue from captivity. As he went out he seized a dog that was held there ready for him, placed it at once on his

shoulders and carried it among the Cabins as a consecrated victim, which he publicly offered to the Demon of war, begging him to accept this semblance instead of the reality of his Dream. And, in order that the Sacrifice might be fully consummated, the dog was killed with a club, and was singed and roasted in the flames; and, after all this, it was eaten at a public feast, in the same manner as they usually eat their Captives. (104)

De Quen records accounts of several dogs who lost their lives in this fashion. Once when an Indian named Ondesonk was threatened with death, a friend of his pleaded:

Kill my dog, and let him be the victim instead of Ondesonk; for he is too great a friend of ours. At these words he grew calm; and, cleaving the animal's head with a hatchet stroke, he bore it around, as if in triumph. (105)

In another instance a dog was offered "to become the victim" of an angry Indian's "wrath and of the Demon of his passion."

"That is not enough," he said, "to wipe out the shame and indignity done me in wishing to kill a Frenchman lodged in my house." A second dog was offered him, and he became pacified at once, returning to his cabin as calm as if nothing had occurred. (106)

RECENT INFORMATION ON TYPES OF ABORIGINAL DOGS

In 1920, Glover M. Allen wrote that most of the local varieties of dogs of the American aborigines, as a pure breed, had probably become extinct. (107) It is probably impossible at this late date to discover when dogs of the American Indians first crossed with European dogs. Numerous accounts testify that the Indians felt the imported breeds of dogs were superior to their own and sought to improve their stock by acquiring dogs from the white men. (108) John Lyon Gardiner of Gardiner's Island, New York, wrote, "Tradition among the Montock Indians informs us that Gardiners Island" was bought "for a large black Dog, a Gun & Ammunition; some Rum, a few Dutch blankets, &c. These articles were in the estimation of the natives of incomparable value..." The purchase of this Island from the Indians is supposed to have taken place before March 10, 1639/40. (109)

S. T. Livermore, writing in 1876, believed that descendants of aboriginal dogs

97. Wood, 1898, p. 98

100. Bogoras, 1902

102. Jochelson, 1905-1908, Vol. VI, p. 103

103. Thwaites, Vol. II, pp. 15, 17, and Vol. III, p. 127

104. Thwaites, Vol. XXIII, p. 171

105. Thwaites, Vol. XLII, p. 43

106. Ibid., p. 159

107. Allen, 1920, p. 439

108. Early literary reference to the Indians' desire to acquire imported breeds of dogs was mentioned in an earlier section of this paper.

109. Gardiner, 1870, pp. 263, 271

98. Lafiteau, 1724, Vol. II, p. 108

99. Hagar, 1906, pp. 362, 363

101. Bogoras, 1907, p. 335

were still to be found on Block Island. Livermore stated,

the "dogs" of Block Island belonging to the Manisseans before the English came have their descendants here still, it is believed. They are not numerous, but peculiar, differing materially from all the species which we have noticed on the mainland, both in figure and disposition. They are below a medium size, with short legs but powerful broad breasts, heavy quarters, massive head unlike the bulldog, the terrier, the hound, the mastiff, but resembling mostly the last; with a fierce disposition that in some makes but little distinction between friend and foe. (110)

Allen said that it was not unlikely that the dogs described by Livermore were descendants of "the Short Legged Indian Dog" which "probably was found among canoe-using or forest-living tribes in the north." This type was the Indians' household pet or hunt-companion. (111)

During the summer months, while many of the Penobscot Indians are at the seashore gathering sweet-grass for baskets and shellfish for food, large packs of temporarily homeless dogs roam at will over Indian Island at Old Town, Maine. Speck said of these lean, noisily-timid scavengers,

It would be interesting to know something of the degree of old native canine blood which these animals may possess. There is, however, nothing in their appearance or pedigree to indicate difference from the usual breeds of mongrel hunting dogs of the region. Some of the older people assert that a wolf strain runs in their dogs, there having been one animal as late as 1912 which was half-wolf by definite statement. (112)

Allen described three types of aboriginal dogs for the western hemisphere:

(1) the large wolf-like Eskimo Dog... (2) a smaller type, varying more or less in size and proportions, with erect ears but a drooping tail; and (3) a much smaller type, the size of a terrier, heavy of bone, usually with shortened rostrum as seen among the tribes of the Southwest or again, apparently more slender both in limb and skull, as in southern Mexico or parts of South America. South of the Eskimo country the two latter types of dogs are characteristic, and seem to have occurred together over much of their range, so that travellers often mentioned a "wolf-like" and a "fox-like" dog among the Indians of both North and South America.

According to Allen, the dogs of the second type seem "to have been usually solid black,

or black and white in patches..." and those of the third type were "generally white, or spotted liver and white, or black and white." (113)

The only survival of a nearly pure breed Indian dog south of the Saint Lawrence River brought to our attention was a small black and white bitch owned by Dr. George F. Clarke, Woodstock, New Brunswick. This dog was brought from northern Maine, near the Quebec border, by a family named Waters, who came to the Tobique country some years ago. Various persons familiar with Indian dogs of northern Quebec and the Hudson's Bay region have commented on the marked similarity between Dr. Clarke's dog and those used by northern Indians when hunting bear and beaver. Such dogs are much quicker than larger dogs and are able to elude the rushes of the bear, if it did turn on them, but by their continued yapping they scared the bear which climbed a tree and was then shot by the hunters. Indians of northern Quebec prize similar dogs highly as hunters of beaver because of their keen sense of smell, acute hearing, and tenacity of purpose.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF DOGS

Throughout the area, bones of dogs have been excavated from refuse pits in which bones of game animals were also found. Occurrence of their bones under these conditions has been taken as evidence that dogs were used for food. Complete skeletons of dogs have also been found carefully buried in pits by themselves, as well as in graves where they accompanied human beings.

Jefferies Wyman, excavating in Maine and Massachusetts, found bones of dogs at Mt. Desert, Maine, and at Eagle Hill and Cotuit Point, in Massachusetts. Their presence along with the bones of game animals lead him to conclude that dogs had been used as food. (114) H. C. Mercer found a tooth in a site on York River, in Maine, which he identified as that of "the fox (*vulpes*) or a small domestic dog." He also found a "fragment of the lower jaw of a dog or wolf." (115)

Loomis and Young, excavating in the Frenchman's Bay region of Maine, secured the bones or teeth of over sixty individual specimens of dogs, and, from their findings, reached several important conclusions. There were fifteen specimens of a dog which was about one-tenth smaller than the Eskimo dog

110. Livermore, 1877, p. 58

111. Allen, 1920, pp. 464, 467

112. Speck, 1940, p. 55

113. Allen, 1920, pp. 440, 457, 464

114. Wyman, 1868, pp. 574, 576

115. Mercer, 1897, pp. 114-125

of today. This dog they classified as Type 1, or the Major Indian dog. Of Type 2, or the Common Indian dog, they found thirty specimens; and fifteen specimens of the important smaller Minor Indian Dog. (116)

Recent excavations carried on by the Robert Abbe Museum in the region about Frenchman's Bay have uncovered additional skeletal remains of dogs that probably had been used as food. This was particularly true in the Taft's Point shell heap. In the Ewing and Bragdon shell heap, one human burial was recorded. Accompanying this burial were the skeletal remains of two dogs. All the bones, excepting the jaw of the dogs, although plainly discernible, had deteriorated to such an extent that it was impossible to preserve them. The skeletal remains of these animals were under the human burial and were without any doubt associated. This incident appears to be unique in the archaeological records of Maine. (117)

Archaeological evidence of the presence of the aboriginal dog in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia is very meager. The fact that very little archaeological work has been carried on there in recent years may account for the paucity of information. Excavations of village sites were conducted at a time when little thought was given to analysis and identification of species represented by the bones taken from shell heaps and refuse pits. There is, nevertheless, enough evidence to support the belief that dogs were used at least as food animals. (118)

The Narragansett-Nehantic Indians of southern Rhode Island were more powerful and wealthy than any of their neighbors after the Pequot war. The fact that they were "master minters" of shell money and carried on a brisk trade with Dutch, English, and even French traders, as well as with Indians of other tribes, accounts for some of their prosperity. Since they were in the habit of burying property of considerable value in the graves of members of the "royal family", a great deal of rather spectacular material has been secured from this area, most of which dates from early historic times. Howard M. Chapin described a metal hair ornament found in an Indian grave at Charlestown, R. I. as a comb-like affair with two large-eyed, erect-eared, rat-tailed creatures facing each other at the top. They are believed to represent dogs. (119)

The Museum of the American Indian, Heye

Foundation, New York City, possesses a stone pipe with an animal figure identified as that of a dog clinging to the bowl. This pipe was found at Burr Hill, R. I. In the same collection there is a similarly shaped pipe, made of pewter, with a more life-like dog figure. The latter was dug up at Montague, New Jersey. (120) The material and craftsmanship of the New Jersey pipe indicate European workmanship. (121)

Many specimens of isolated dog bones and of complete burials have been reported from archaeological excavations in Connecticut. Dr. George G. MacCurdy mentioned the finding of dog bones in Pine Rock Cave, which was located on the outskirts of New Haven, until it was destroyed in quarrying trap-rock. The specimens were found under such conditions, however, that it was impossible to draw any conclusions, except that they were dog bones. (122)

Edward H. Rogers said of Ridge camp site on Indian River at Milford, Connecticut,

Isolated dog burials, and occasionally dogs associated with human remains were characteristic of this site. Such a burial occurred near the center of the plot in a refuse pit five feet in diameter and thirty inches deep. The skeleton was placed in the bottom of the pit in the usual flexed position with the body laid about south and north on its right side, facing east. Parallel to, and resting within eight inches of the back of the human remains was the skeleton of a small dog the size of a fox terrier. The dog was completely covered with large sturgeon scales laid over him as shingles are laid on a roof.

Of another dog burial which was found in the bottom of a nearby fire pit, Mr. Rogers wrote, "As the bones were not charred, it seems reasonable to believe that the interment was made after the pit had been abandoned." At Knowl Camp the badly disintegrated skeleton "of a young child with a small dog" was found not far from a "headless burial." (123)

At Muskrat Hill, Stratford, Connecticut, a pit seven feet in diameter and three feet deep was discovered by Claude C. Coffin.

In this pit were the skeletons of three Indian dogs. They were in the center of the pit, about one and one-half feet apart and in a triangular formation. All were at the same depth, and in a flexed position. They were lying on their stomachs, feet folded under them, in upright positions, heads and necks extended; their tails also extended behind them. All had their heads pointing to the east. These animals were about

116. Loomis and Young, 1912, pp. 23-26

117. Recent excavations carried on by the Robert Abbe Museum near Frenchman's Bay have uncovered additional dog remains. It has been found that dogs were used to a great extent for food and as sacrifices with human burials.

118. Smith and Wintemberg, 1929, p. 16

119. Chapin, 1925, pp. 30, 32

120. Cards accompanying specimens and information from Mr. William Orchard.

121. The casting of brass involves techniques and implements not usually believed to be in possession of the Indians of this area in early historic times. The casting of pewter is a simple process and could be quickly learned and easily practiced. We know of no pipe moulds that have been recovered from this area.

122. MacCurdy, 1914, p. 517

123. Rogers, 1943, pp. 26-31

the size of the average collie dog. (124)

Lyent W. Russell reported that the disarticulated "skeletal remains of a dog or wolf" were found buried under a firepit at the Menunketesic site in Westbrook, Connecticut. Although disarticulated, the bones had been gathered together and carefully buried. (125)

Alanson Skinner, in his reports on archaeological work in the vicinity of New York City, found separate dog burials and fragments of the bones of dogs which had been thrown in with refuse.

In his paper on "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," Skinner said:-

At the famous Bowman's Brook site at Mariners' Harbor, the writer found the skeleton of a dog which had received regular interment. A few inches above this skeleton (which by the way, was in the heart of the village proper and not in the cemetery) was a deposit of oyster shells such as was often found above human remains on the same site. Perhaps this skeleton was of some pet animal. Dogs' skeletons have also been found at Tottenville. The writer believes those who have attributed a ceremonial origin to these dog burials, which are not uncommon on New York Algonkin sites, are in error. (126)

The same writer also found remains of a "large native species, probably like the modern Eskimo dog" at the Schley Avenue and the Leland Avenue sites in the New York City area. They were found as separate burials in refuse heaps which contained additional bone fragments. (127)

In a grave near Port Washington, Long Island,

Three shell beads were found around the neck of one baby, and above it lay the remains of a large dog which seems to have been buried alive with its little master. (128)

Archaeological excavations in New York under the direction of Dr. Parker and Dr. Ritchie indicate that a small breed of dog was present in the earliest recognized horizon, Lamoka, and in the succeeding Brewerton Focus. From the condition of the material it appears as if dogs were both eaten and given separate primary burial. (129) The small breed still occurred in the Frontenac focus and a large breed also came in at this time. (130) Dog bones were found among the calcined bones of Point Peninsula cremations. Their condition and position indicates that some had been given separate burial while others had been scraps left over from food.

Apparently only the small breed was present. Dog burials also occur in Early Middle Woodland contexts on Long Island. (131)

Although dogs were eaten at all periods and occur as burials in all time levels in New York, their appearance as grave goods is only found at Frontenac, and as in many other parts of North America, characterize a pre-ceramic, pre-agricultural, non-sedentary culture, which is generally early. (132)

INDIAN USE OF DOGS FOR HUNTING

In the areas under discussion, post-colonial references to the use of dogs by Indians as companions and as aids in hunting are very limited. Ethnological research among the Indians of southern New England is comparatively recent, and the hunting activities of these Indians, except in isolated instances, have been replaced by other economic pursuits.

There is a late reference to the hunting of skunks (ckanks) with dogs on the part of the Mohegan Indians. Speck said that "Skunk hunting was a much favored and profitable amusement at Mohegan." (133)

Among the Indians of the Penobscot and St. John valleys, dogs were trained and used as late as the twentieth century in hunting deer and moose.

J. G. Millais said the Micmac of Newfoundland, treated their dogs as companions and also trained them to haul sleds. (134) He further stated that the Labrador type of dog was best suited for this purpose. Millais's is the only reference to the use of dogs as traction animals south of the St. Lawrence which we have found. Millais also mentioned the use of a white dog as a decoy to attract birds closer to the shore. (135) Dogs are still used as decoys in Maine and the Maritime Provinces by both Indians and whites, although no special attention is given to the color of the dog. The dog is taught to play in the shallow water close to the beach, thus arousing the curiosity of the birds, which swim in to investigate. They are often lured very close.

Dr. Speck, in Dogs of the Labrador Indians, wrote that the Montagnais had several types of dogs.

First to be mentioned is a small, decidedly vulpine race: the prominent, pointed, up-standing ears, the pointed nose, the silky hair, and whitish belly are characteristic. In color, dogs of this race are brown, reddish, or white and gray. They have a light

124. Coffin, 1940, pp. 46, 47
126. Skinner, 1909, p. 51
128. Ibid., p. 134
130. Ibid., p. 273
132. Ritchie, 1944, p. 321
134. Millais, 1907, pp. 145, 221

125. Russell, 1942, pp. 25, 26
127. Skinner, 1915, p. 118
129. Ritchie, 1944, pp. 394, 379
131. Parker, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 346
133. Speck, 1909, p. 191
135. Ibid., p. 211

delicate step, a trim graceful figure, and an amiable disposition. *Mahikan atum*, "wolf-dog," is the term by which they are known among the Indians of the Lake St. John and the Gulf of St. Lawrence region. These, considered the real Indian dogs, undoubtedly represent the original strain. They serve only as trailers, for their scent being keen and their actions quick, they make excellent, intelligent hunters. The hunting dog constitutes a decided type, one that appeals to human interest because of its historical background as well as through its individuality. About thirty years ago there were no dogs other than these among the Lake St. John Indians, and they did not "train". The toboggans were drawn by the men, dogs running alongside or behind, constantly on the alert for the scent of game.

In commenting on driving dogs, Speck wrote:

The driving animals, in contrast to the breed just described, are ordinarily big hardy beasts, with broad heads and short hair. Usually their features indicate affinity with the European dog races, but occasionally some mixture with the Eskimo husky is evident. This infusion is not surprising, for we know that trade with the more remote Indians, the Naskapi or "heathen," who are in direct contact with the Eskimos, has brought the husky breed into the interior among the Montagnais. (136)

DOGS IN MYTH AND LEGEND

Dogs apparently figure prominently in the myths and legends of the Indians of this area. Among the Northeastern Woodland Indians there is a general agreement that the dogs of Glooskap, "the trickster," had supernatural powers. These powers were often demonstrated by their ability to transform themselves into monstrous creatures. Charles C. Leland cited an example in which the Indians said, "The Squirrel was Glooskap's dog and when he willed, grew large again and slew his enemies however fierce they might be." (137)

Leland further stated that among some of the Algonkians of New England, Glooskap is said to have originally had two loons for "tale bearers." As the loons were absent for such long periods of time, he put two wolves in their places. These later became known as Indian dogs. (138)

In commenting on the attitude of the Maine Indians toward their dogs, Dr. Speck says,

Dogs figured in mythical associations as the companions of man from the transformation period. In the myth of distribution of animal traits, the text runs that Gluskabe assembled the animals before him and sounded their future intentions in respect to mankind whom, he told them, he was about to create. Most of them declared their intentions to be hostile toward man-to-be. The dog, however, elected himself to be

man's companion, associate, and helper, and so it was. When man appeared, the dog went and lay down at his side... (139)

and further, that dogs and other animals were

highly endowed creatures with characteristic powers and their own different modes of life. The various kinds constitute tribes and have chiefs and shamans among them.... Their shamans are like the Indian shamans, able to perform acts of magic, often transforming themselves into human beings to achieve some particular object, as for example to entice Indians away. (140)

Dr. Speck recorded a tale of a "smart" dog who found a great deal of game for his kind master and of another dog, called *Sag'nag wzu* or "Stingy" because he found no game for his cruel master. This Indian heard the dogs conversing together and learned that the "stingy" dog actually saw "lots of bear, deer and other animals and their tracks" but that he would not tell his undeserving master. The kind man

hearing this talk went over to the cruel man the next day and asked if he would part with his dog. 'Yes, take him!' said he. 'No, I will buy him', said the first. So he bought the poor dog. He took him to hunt and the poor dog rewarded his new owner by hunting down all kinds of game and the kind owner had a good hunt. The first owner wanted to buy him back when he learned of this but the kind hunter would not sell him. (141)

Dr. Speck points out that the dogs of the Northeastern Algonkian were usually given personal names, which accorded them a social status somewhat akin to that of man. He gives the following list of Penobscot dog names with their translations. (142)

Awa' s is	Baby
Pi'nsis	Little pin
Sawanhi' gan	Sauce (lit. "That which bitters")
Pabe't tciman	Ask him
Agwe' djiman	Try him
Awe'n	Who?
Dano'wa	Where's that?
Kokokha's	Hoot Owl
Djabu'tdes	Clown
Di'ktagli	"Cat" Owl
Awe's-us	Bear
Ez ba'n s	Raccoon
Tekne'b s	Monkey
Bi ksi	Pork (lit. "pigs")
Tcigwa'lus	Frog
Ma'ls m	Wolf
Adjagwa'l	Perch
Sagi'nag wzu	Stingy

Among the Penobscot, according to Dr. speck,
A'la mus walade' sis, "little dog dish", is an excla-

136. Speck, 1925, pp. 58, 59

138. Ibid.

140. Speck, 1935, p. 22

142. Speck, 1940, p. 55

144. Rand, 1894, p. 143

137. Leland, 1885, p. 29

139. Speck, 1940, p. 53

141. Op. cit., p. 53

143. Ibid., p. 269

145. Hind, 1863, p. 170

mation of extreme surprise; long equivalent to the profane repertoire of the white lumberjacks. It serves every purpose of an expression, but its application to the situation seems to baffle inquiry. (143)

Rand told of a Micmac dog which had magical powers, enabling it to walk on water and to guide Indians back to their homes by pointing its head in the proper direction. (144)

Until very recently, the Naskapi believed in the supernatural power of dogs as vicars for men. Consequently, as late as the middle of the Nineteenth century, dogs were sacrificed upon the death of their masters.

H. Y. Hind, who carried on explorations in Labrador, about 1860, describes burial customs among the Montagnais and Naskapi as follows:

The Montagnais and Nasquapees bury their dead like the Swampy Crees, who dig with their wooden snow-shovels a hole about three feet deep, which is sometimes lined with pieces of wood. The body is placed on its side, as if sleeping, but sometimes it is put in a sitting posture. They wrap it in skins, or a

blanket if they have one, with the gun, axe, fire-steel, flint, tinder, and kettle placed by its side. Sometimes the Indian's dogs are hung up at the head of the grave. (145)

From our observations among the various Indian groups in the Northeastern Woodland Area, it appears that dogs are no longer treated with respect and esteem. The present-day attitude of the Indians toward their dogs is similar to that held by white people of comparable economic and social status.

Perhaps the present-day attitude toward the dog is closer to the original feeling of the Indian toward this commensal animal than we realize. It is a well known fact that the Indians incorporated into their mythology a great deal of European folklore. Dogs are a common factor in European tales. Further, early explorers often brought with them their canine pets, which were much larger and better trained than the Indian dog. It would not, therefore, be improbable that Indians who met such explorers would be impressed almost to a superstitious dread by these great animals so closely akin to their human masters.

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<u>MAINE</u> - Penobscot	a lamus	Speck, 1940, p.53
Abenaki (St. Francis)	allomoose	Barton, p. 76
Abenaki (P. Q. Canada)	adia, alemos	Laurent, p. 35
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u> - Massachusetts	anum	Wood, 1898, p. 104
Massachusetts	annum	Cotton, 1830
Natick	anum	Eliot, 1822, p. 2
Nipmuck	alum	Williams, 1866, p. 96
Nipmuck	alúm	Eliot, 1822, p. 2
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u> - Cowwaset	anum	Williams, 1866, p. 96
Narraganset	ayim	Ibid.
Narraganset	ayimp	Stiles, ms, 1769
Narraganset	auyimp	Stiles, ms, 1769
<u>CONNECTICUT</u> - Pequot	n'ahteah (1)	Stiles, ms, 1762
Mohegan	na'tia	Speck & Prince, 1904, p. 36
	"uiam" (?)	See above, p. 25
Quiripi	arum	Williams, 1866, p. 96
Scatticook	dia	Speck & Prince, 1904
<u>NEW YORK</u> - Uncachogue (L.I.)	arrum	Jefferson, 1794
Mahican	diau	Michelson, ms.
Mahican	ndijau (?)	DeForest, p. 491
"Mahicanni"	diau	Barton, p. 76
<u>NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK AND</u>		
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u> - Munsee-Mahican (Six Nations, Ont.)	allum "more exactly domestic animal."	Brinton, p. 18
	mwak'anéc	Speck, ms.
	moekaneu	Brinton, p. 86
	walum	Speck ms, notes
	ndalamuz, "my pet," (dog, horse, etc.)	Speck, ms. notes

(1) In this and the following cognate forms with n-, the possessive first person pronoun is evident.

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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE RAGGED MOUNTAIN SITE

William S. Fowler

Chronology, an important objective of archaeological research, serves to label the relationship of cultures to each other in developing culture sequence. In no field of study have chronological data been more urgently needed than in that of the steatite (soapstone) industry. Here, for more than a half century, field work has revealed many important steatite quarries but without finding satisfactory evidence as to the age in which they were worked. This chronological deficiency has made it difficult to place this important cultural epoch in its proper sequence.

One school of thought has tried to establish contemporaneity of the steatite industry with ceramics as a corollary from the coexistence of steatite and clay potsherds on camp sites, in refuse pits, and sometimes in graves. While, in such cases, the number of steatite sherds has been usually relatively small as compared with clay potsherds, nevertheless, it has been argued that this close association of evidence should not be passed over lightly, and that until more conclusive evidence appears it should be considered sufficient to justify belief in a coeval manufacture of steatite and clay vessels.

Another school of thought, to which the writer belongs, while admitting the coexistence of steatite and clay potsherds as a part of habitation refuse, disagrees with the logic of concluding that the industries were coeval. It argues that the presence of the two wares in habitation association should more properly suggest contemporaneity of their use but not necessarily of their manufacture. Overlapping of one culture on another, in which durable products outlast the knowledge of the art of manufacturing them could well explain this affinity. But to ascertain the true relationship of steatite to ceramic culture it is thought that research should be conducted not on camp sites but at steatite quarries where the culture had its origin.

However, steatite quarries have until now revealed only the industrial manifestations of the culture and have refused to yield factual evidence that could be used in making comparisons with domestic traits of other well established cultures. Until now, no camp site has been found in close enough association with a steatite quarry to connote its use by quarry workmen during the existence of the quarry. For probably the first time in archaeological research, Ragged Mountain site furnishes what appears to be irrefutable evidence in the form of simultaneous deposition of steatite industrial and domestic

stone traits.

Here, in the Peoples State Forest, of Connecticut, located on the side of Ragged Mountain and at the base of some eighty feet of precipitous granite ledges, is a rock shelter one hundred feet in length. At several places in its floor are outcrops of steatite, the best veins of which have long since been worked away, leaving nothing but low grade steatite schist. Excavation of the site has revealed without doubt that at this shelter steatite industrialists worked and lived over a long period of time. Here they deposited both industrial as well as domestic artifacts with implications as to their coexistence that are of the greatest significance. Furthermore, since clay potsherds appear in the upper level, the site assumes added importance for study of the stratigraphic relationship of the two industries.

The history of the site dates back to the year 1901, when Mr. Walter E. Manchester, searching for mineral deposits, found the first projectile point. Subsequently, he shifted his search from rocks to artifacts and dug a good portion of the shelter about a spade's length in depth. By screening each spade-full he recovered many small articles that otherwise might have been lost. He eventually deposited his entire collection of specimens with the Peabody Museum of Yale University. With the rediscovery of the site and the decision of the museum to sponsor this dig, Mr. Manchester's specimens were brought out of the repository and tied in with those recovered by the new excavation. Under the direction of Dr. Irving Rouse and the writer, camp was set up at the site last summer and a thorough excavation of the shelter undertaken, using the grid system technique.

The shelter is peculiar in that it served the steatite stone-cutters both as a workshop and as an abode. This anomaly, while presenting a cultural association of the first importance, at the same time has hindered formation of clearly defined hypotheses due to the more or less casual disposal of quarry tailings in numerous deposits throughout the shelter. Obviously, Manchester paid no attention to this intermixture of steatite waste with habitation refuse and dug indiscriminately. As a result, his assemblage of artifacts contains specimens from quarry tailings as well as from an upper level of the habitation floor. To make matters worse, he dug deeper in some places and very likely scooped the surface from a habitation deposit earlier than that represented by the upper level. Such irregular

methods are reflected in the assemblage of artifacts he recovered.

His collection consists of numerous quarry end picks, a few other steatite working tools, and a preponderance of domestic implements. Projectile points are generally side notched and of chert, with some corner removed points, largely of quartz. One eared triangular point of chert, reminiscent of the early Laurentian period as postulated by Ritchie for his New York State archaic cultures, probably came from a lower habitation floor that Manchester happened to scrape. A chipped hatchet of basalt has a ground edge. A well-shaped pestle, quantities of broken animal bones and about ninety clay potsherds complete the collection. These sherds have now been found to belong to five small pots of which one with a conoidal base has been restored. They probably represent the second and third stages of ceramic development in this region. Attention should be called to the fact that there are no potsherds from the first period, which may indicate that for a prolonged interval the shelter was not occupied.

Considering now the present excavation of Ragged Mountain shelter, the combined deposition of industrial and domestic stone traits is, of course, important, but of equal importance is the fact that nearly all shelter goods have been recovered. Therefore, while the number of articles is necessarily small, due to the comparatively limited area, the probable completeness of representation of essential implement traits is significant. Furthermore, in this case the use of negative traits in culture analysis may be more dependable than is usually the rule.

This stratified shelter was found to be undisturbed except for the upper overburden, previously excavated by Manchester to a depth of about a foot. Directly below this disturbance appeared a heavy black habitation floor with a depth of 20 inches in the most concentrated area. This floor covered a space measuring about ten by fifteen feet that lay between granite outcrops, and probably represents the chief habitation area. Outside, at either end, the black stratum tapered gradually to nothing. At the west end occurred a cluster of eight hearths at different levels, two of which appeared to be in a good state of preservation. Quarry tailings only occasionally spilled over into the central living area. They were confined for the most part to either end of the shelter and at several places along the outer edge.

Domestic traits came mostly from the black habitation stratum, while industrial traits occurred in this black deposit as well as in quarry tailings. It is significant that in the habitation floor, industrial tools were chiefly those which would probably have been used for shaping and final finishing of vessels, while in the quarry waste they were mostly tools for quarrying and for the roughing out of vessels.

According to the classification and terminology suggested by the writer in "Stone Eating Utensils of Southern New England," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 13, No. 2, the industrial stone trait assemblage consists of ten different types of tools. A chisel with ground blade, quarry axe and maul, large end picks, tailing breakers, and spades comprise implements used mostly in quarrying. Small end picks, corner picks, hand gouges, abrading scrapers, and shavers probably used as finishing tools complete the list.

In the domestic field, the collection of stone traits is impressive. Elongated drills, grooved gouge, winged bannerstone, snubnose scrapers, oval scrapers (choppers), stemmed knives, hammerstones, pitted stones, anvils, and 59 projectile points make up the assemblage. Projectile points comprise those for arrows, darts, and spears, and appear in five base styles, named in the order of their frequency: corner removed, eared broad-based, side notched, narrow spool-based, and small triangular. The stone of which they were made is indigenous white quartz and quartzite at the lowest levels. Chert or black flint appears at about the center of the habitation stratum where it was used for 17% of implements; it increased in favor above this zone, reaching a frequency of 32% in the disturbed upper level. The ulu (semi-lunar knife), as well as clay potsherds are absent from this enumeration of artifacts, although the latter did appear in the disturbed overburden and in Manchester's collection taken from this same upper level. All told, sherds from six small pots with mouths six to nine inches in diameter have been recovered.

In connection with provenience of the pottery, it should be noted that two earthenred colored contiguous sherds with simple dentate decoration were taken from hearth #4 of the upper level. Subsequently, one of a number of similarly colored and decorated sherds from Manchester's specimens was found to fit and became the third contiguous unit of this group. Now since Manchester's sherd came from the overburden and the former from under the undisturbed stones of hearth #4, it may be argued that the pot had been broken and kicked about by the people who made the hearth. If this deduction is conceded, then it should follow that hearth #4 was made and used by people possessed of a ceramic culture. Furthermore, as hearths #1, 3, 5, and probably 2 were all on about the same upper level, allowing for a natural slope away from the shelter overhang, it is likely that these hearths also belonged to the ceramic period.

Nearby, hearths #6, 7, and 8, on a lower level and not resting on stone outcrops as were hearths #1, 3, 4, and 5, but resting on a deposit of charcoal and scattered fire stones twenty-four inches thick, may have belonged to the steatite period. It should be observed that they were covered by a 500 pound granite slab which was subsequently removed. Apparently, at some previous time

it had broken loose from the shelter overhang and had slid down to cover the hearths. Now as all sherds from the overburden that were found by the recent excavation lay outside this slab obstruction, it may be argued that they had a more recent date than any material under the slab. Evidence supporting the belief that a separation of cultures is marked by the granite slab is found in the appearance beneath it, in close association with hearths #6, 7, and 8, of numerous fractured steatite vessels in various stages of manufacture. Further specimens of such vessels were not found outside the area covered by the slab.

Absence of the ulu is not surprising if evidence from other stratified sites in the Northeast is accepted. At Titicut and Nipinicket, excavated sites in the Taunton River Valley of Massachusetts, both ground and chipped ulus are found relatively deep, while steatite sherds and steatite pipes are deposited in strata located well above.

To recapitulate, Ragged Mountain site has yielded stratified evidence suggesting the existence of two separate cultures; one non-ceramic, the other, ceramic with agricultural affinities. Industrial products of the former are steatite vessels, which are associated with the following domestic stone traits that have been selected as being the most diagnostic of the culture: bannerstone, grooved gouge, stemmed knife, and eared broad-based and narrow spool-based projectile points. Projectile points in general are both small and large, suggesting use of the bow and arrow as well as the thrown spear. Presence of a bannerstone with thong notches

on both sides of the central perforation (Fig. 5, 1) makes it appear likely that the atlatl may have been used. Diagnostic traits of the ceramic culture are clay pottery, pestle, ground chipped hatchet, and side-notched projectile point (Fig. 6). Corner removed and small triangular points are common to both cultures and are therefore omitted from culture identification. Furthermore, it should be said that while side-notched points are predominantly in evidence in the ceramic culture, they also appear in the pre-ceramic culture but in such a small amount as to be insignificant. Apparently, a considerable interval occurred between the two occupations, and evidence seems to indicate a culture separation that would preclude even a partial interchange of culture products.

When the final report is written, an attempt will be made to evaluate more carefully the relationship of artifacts to stratigraphy, and to develop more complete hypotheses concerning chronology and culture sequence. It will consider the points at which Ragged Mountain cultures appear to equate with those of adjoining regions and will attempt to reconcile certain manifestations that appear to be inconsistent with established culture sequences. However, it seems probable that there is now sufficient evidence to place the steatite culture in a pre-ceramic epoch with inventive originality free from ceramic interference.

Attleboro Museum
Attleboro, Massachusetts
October 19, 1948

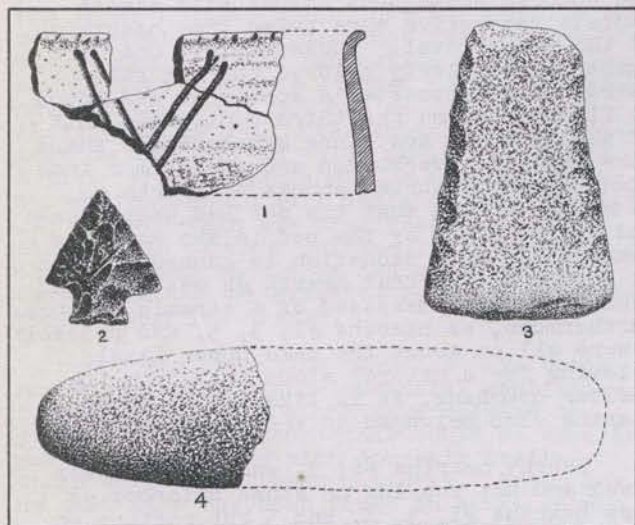


Fig. 5 - Diagnostic traits of the Ceramic Culture: 1, Incised pottery (third stage); 2, Side-notched point; 3, Chipped hatchet; 4, Pestle. (Slightly more than 3/8 size.)

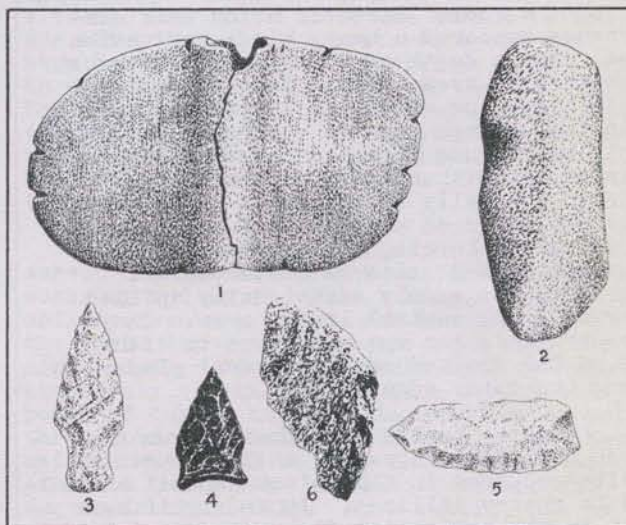


Fig. 6 - Diagnostic traits of the steatite pre-ceramic culture: 1, Bannerstone; 2, Grooved gouge; 3, Narrow, spool-based point; 4, Eared, broad-based point; 5, Stemmed knife; 6, Steatite. (Slightly more than 1/2 size.)

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LOWER NORTH RIVER VALLEY

Henry F. Howe

There are times in the study of archaeology when we should relax our insistence on microscopic attention to the detail of scientific data and take an overall look at the general archaeological picture in a whole region. The high standards which we ordinarily set for ourselves in the accumulation of data from one site, the assembling of these data, and the rather hesitant conclusions we draw from them, are well rounded if accurate conclusions are to be drawn from the study of that site. But we will fail to see the woods for the trees if we do not at times assemble our admittedly fragmentary information about many sites and take a broad look at the regional picture which that fragmentary information may begin to portray.

It is in this spirit that an amateur can sometimes dare to present a preliminary study of a region like the North River Valley and its associated Massachusetts Bay Shore in southeastern Massachusetts. With all humility and in full realization of the inadequacy of the material presented, I would like to attempt a reconstruction of the archaeological picture in this region.

Historically one striking factor emerges from the early explorers' accounts of their contacts with Indians in southeastern Massachusetts. That factor is the maritime activity of these Indians. When Verrazano spent two weeks in Narragansett Bay in 1524 he reported that the Indians surrounded his ship with large canoes, some of them containing as many as sixteen Indians. Similarly, Gosnold on the Elizabeth Islands in 1602 spoke of Indians coming to him from the mainland in canoes from the Buzzards Bay shore, and the next year Martin Pring seems to have found both dugout and birch canoes at Plymouth, and took back to England with him one of the birch canoes. In 1605 Samuel de Champlain watched a dugout canoe being built in Boston Harbor. Thus, at all the coastal points around the region we are describing, the Indians were found to possess canoes with which they were thoroughly familiar and expert in handling. Yet in the accounts of the early colonies there are comparatively few instances in which canoes are mentioned in this region. Most recorded journeys were made overland, on foot. We have to assume that the tremendous loss in population resulting from the plague of 1615 and 1616 had in some way broken down the maritime skills and possibly the canoe building skills of the remnant of population which greeted the Pilgrims and their followers.

A glance at the map (Fig. 7) will explain why I give peculiar emphasis to this particular factor in the study of the North

River Valley. The tributaries of the great Taunton River system, originating in widely spread portions of the present Norfolk, Plymouth and Bristol Counties, flow down into the main stream of the Taunton River, still in modern times comprising a useful inland waterway from various parts of the southeastern bulge of Massachusetts into Narragansett Bay, where the river emerges alongside Massasoit's ancient Wampanoag capital on Mt. Hope. From the eastern radicals of this Taunton River system a series of ponds in the Pembroke region constitute an easy link of communications with the headwaters of the North River system that emerges northeastward into the middle of Massachusetts Bay. It seems inconceivable that this system of inland waterways was not made use of by such a maritime people as we know met the explorers on both the Narragansett Bay and Massachusetts Bay coasts. The southeastern shoulder of Massachusetts may be termed for our present purposes as the "Wampanoag Peninsula," and the map immediately demonstrates that the base of this peninsula is nearly cut across by the inland waterways of the North River and Taunton River systems. Indeed it is possible to conceive also that this base is further cut across by the close approach of the headwaters of the Neponset and Charles Rivers to those of the Three Mile River tributaries of the Taunton, and it might thus have been possible for birch canoes to have entered Dorchester and Boston Bays after relatively short portages from the Taunton River system into various tributaries of those more northerly rivers. One can even conceive of a canoe or a series of canoes making easy transportation possible between Narragansett Bay and the Merrimac by way of portions of the upper Charles and Concord Rivers out of the Taunton River system.

Such speculation is necessary to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of an Indian culture whose only accurate sources consist of historical narratives and the implements found on occupation sites. But it would be foolish to ignore speculations when they are based on geographical realities that a map can demonstrate. Industrial dams now obscure the possible portage routes that would have been most practical in the early days, and it is not logical to carry our study of possible trade routes too much into detail. Nevertheless in studying the distribution of village sites and archaeological material obtained from them in such a region as one of these river systems, it is obviously important to consider the background of possible inland water transportation in relation to them.

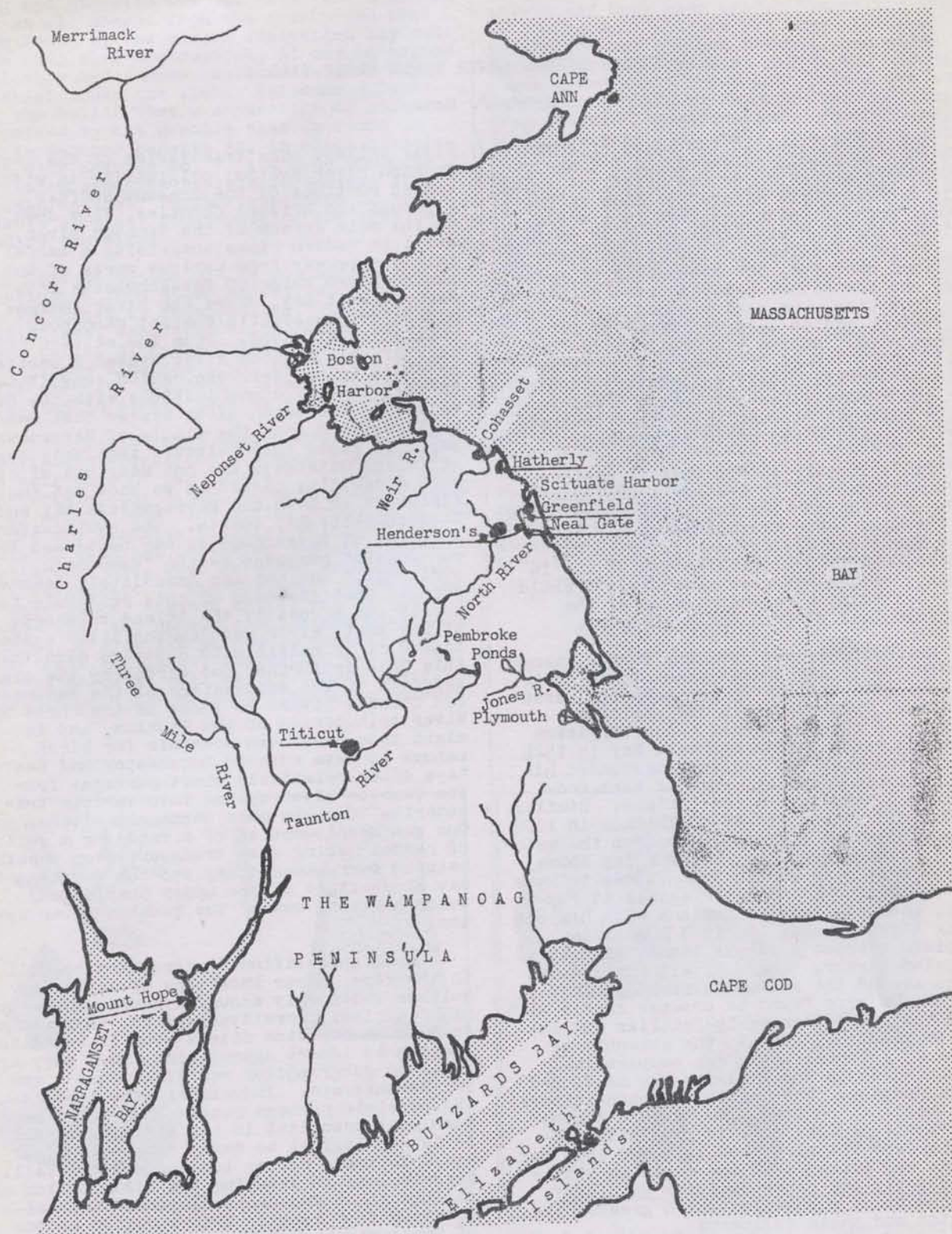


Fig. 7 - A portion of southeastern Massachusetts and adjacent Rhode Island.

As we now turn our attention more directly to the North River Valley and its collateral shores on the adjoining portions of Massachusetts Bay, let us consider the possible evidences, that these villages were not only habitation sites, but links in a chain of communications. From this standpoint, it can be demonstrated that villages on tributaries of small rivers frequently are located at or near the head of navigation of these streams. This is true of a site at Hingham on the Weir River, a site at Cohasset on the Gulf River (M-36-11) and a site at Greenbush in Scituate on First Herring Brook (M-37-3). Surface hunting on these three sites indicates that they were relatively large sites with a variety of implements—some of them suited to fishing. Again on the large rivers it is possible to show that there was sometimes a great regional village—a sort of metropolis of the region at or near the lowest convenient fording place on the river system. The further fact that these villages sometimes were placed on a great bend of the river where the direction of its course suddenly changed might suggest that overland routes of transportation here either crossed the river or changed to water borne transportation. The Titicut Site is perhaps the classical example of this on the Taunton River, and on the North River a similar site usually known as the Henderson Site exists in Norwell (M-36-1). In the case of the Henderson Site there is some evidence that a known land route of transportation going down through Weymouth and South Hingham to Norwell and from there to the coast at Scituate met the North River at this point. A series of raids in King Philip's War followed this route in 1676. Thus again modes of transportation probably influenced the location of villages as much as their topographical convenience did.

Whether evidence can be found on sites of these varieties to confirm our speculations about their transport function may be largely a matter of opinion, but evidence will be provided later to suggest that such evidence can be found.

In the region of the North River Valley and the south shore of Massachusetts Bay it is a commonplace experience to find two types of villages. The first of these types includes the two groups already mentioned, at the head of navigation and at transportation crossroads on the rivers. These seem to have been suitable for occupation throughout the year and contain great varieties of well finished artifacts representing all phases of the culture of the region. The second type, usually located on the open shore, almost certainly were occupied mainly in the summer since they have no protection from winter storms and are characterized by crudely improvised implements of the simpler forms and relatively few specialized and skillfully made heavy implements. It is our habit to contrast these two classes as the "winter villages" and the "summer villages" respectively.

The winter villages characteristically are located up river on the north bank where there is shelter from the north by a hill or ridge, a good brook or spring on the site, good agricultural land and a frontage on the river. As we have seen, these villages also are frequently located where land and water transportation routes met. The summer villages are located on promontories of agricultural land bordering the salt marsh containing a tidal creek or pond and frequently fronted by a pebble beach (see my paper in the Bulletin, Massachusetts Archaeological Society, Vol. VIII, No. 3, March 1947). These summer sites were adapted to agriculture in sites that did not need clearing of forest, and to obtaining shellfish, lobsters and ocean fishing. They were of course readily accessible to coastwise trade.

I propose to discuss certain characteristic type sites in this region as illustrations of the ideas already expressed in this paper. The evidence from all these sites is the result of surface collecting only. It should, of course, be supplemented by excavating and more careful study since no final conclusions as to culture can be drawn from most of these sites on surface hunting alone. Whether a stratigraphy exists in these sites is not known. However, there are certain useful data to be obtained from surface collections in relation to the problems of geographical analysis which we are discussing in this paper. This is particularly true of evidence of materials imported from other regions found on these sites, as it may help to indicate or confirm theories as to trade routes that were in use when the site was occupied. Occasional evidence might be unearthed also about types of implements in relation to types similarly found in adjoining regions. In one instance it seems clear that even from surface collections we have evidence of a separate culture. Let us start at Cohasset and go southward along the shore to the mouth of the North River and then move southwestward for a few miles up its course studying a few of the villages that may provide information of value.

At Cohasset itself there is an extensive village site on the north bank of the Gulf River which enters Cohasset Harbor one-quarter of a mile below the site. Here along a terrace sheltered by a ridge to the northeast is a village provided with a good spring and with canoe transportation to the sea and along an adjoining system of creeks. In the Cohasset Historical Society there exists an uncatalogued collection from this site which includes well made grooved axes, pestles, many plummets, adzes, large knives and a small mortar. It belongs among the smaller of what we have called the winter villages. It is particularly interesting that a trail still known as "The Indian Trail" proceeds through two miles of rocky woods from this village to the Hatherly Site (M-36-2) at North Scituate Beach, which is one of the two pebble beach summer sites reported in a

previous paper. The Hatherly Site is a typical summer village located on a brackish pond behind a pebble barrier beach and has quite different and cruder characteristics in its implements already noted as typical of the summer village. The system of creeks already mentioned also provides a waterway route between the two villages. Thus we have here a link by the traditional Indian Trail, and by water, between what may have been the year-round winter village and its summer migration, only two miles away. This is the only instance of which I am aware in which there is a definite hint of the route of communication between a winter village and its summer collateral.

Passing three miles southward along the coast from the Hatherly Site one comes to another summer village which was the second of my pebble beach study, known as the Greenfield Site (M-37-4). Here as at Hatherly the village was placed on open fields on a promontory in the salt marsh with a pebble beach separating the salt marsh from the ocean. In the salt marsh in this instance a navigable creek extends northward to Scituate Harbor and thus out to Massachusetts Bay. Only a mile southward from the Greenfield Site is the mouth of the North River, and along this overland route exists another large summer village on the Rivermoor Golf course.

Analysis of the surface material from the Greenfield Site shows the following characteristics. Almost without exception the materials from which implements are made are identical with those in the beach in front of the site. An enormous number of cores and half-finished implements are present on the site together with flakes that littered the workshop area. Many types of implements are influenced by the shape of pebbles from which they were made: for example, pitted hammer stones and grooved sinkers and hammers unchanged from the original pebble form. There are as many diorite blanks resembling half-finished plummets as finished plummets themselves (13 of each). Innumerable blades of felsite and quartz are distributed in the following forms: leaf shaped, geometric, intermediate and miscellaneous - 108; small trianguloids - 12; skillfully made side notched - 8; corner removed - 13. Of the heavier implements in a collection of about 200 of all types of implements, only 2 adzes and 1 gorget have polished or cleanly abraded surfaces, and of the whole collection of flaked implements no more than 20% can be said to be of excellent and finished workmanship as judged by standards of most winter villages in the region. These rough catalogues are indicated simply to suggest the crude character of a typical example of one of these summer villages and, as will be seen subsequently, contrast sharply with two other sites to be discussed.

At Greenbush in the southern portion of Scituate there are two villages of strikingly different character. The first of these which we call the Greenbush site (M-37-3) is

the one previously referred to as at the head of navigation on First Herring Brook, which enters the North River from its north side about one mile above its mouth. This village is located on a low promontory above the tidal river marshes on the east side of the brook. It is sheltered from the north by a high range of hills known as Coleman's Hill. No collection from this site sufficiently large for purposes of statistical work exists. My knowledge about such implements as have been obtained suggests all the finished work in gouges, pestles, plummets, adzes, etc. characteristic of a typical winter village. However, a mile away to the southward on the north bank of the North River itself, also sheltered by a range of hills to the northward, there exists a village site known to us as the Neal Gate site (M-37-5) which is different in many of its characteristics from any other site in the region. Topographically it in no way differs from other river bank sites since it has a spring, agricultural land, a southern exposure and a good river front. But from this site my small collection has brought forth the following classifications: skillfully-made large broad-based trianguloids - 64; leaf-shaped blades - 5; side-notched blades - 2. The heavier implements are represented by 3 sinew stones, 3 well made adzes and 18 snub-nosed scrapers. Aside from a few cores and a partly perforated semi-lunar slate disc and a few chipped hammer stones this is the entire collection from the site. Snub-nosed scrapers are extremely rare on any other sites in the region as are sinew stones, and this is the only site in the region which turns up a predominance of large broad-based trianguloids. Thus, despite the acknowledged inaccuracy of surface collections to demonstrate cultural differences, here is a site collection so singularly different from anything else in the region as to indicate clearly a cultural distinction. Several archaeologists have hazarded a guess that this site might correspond in some of its characteristics with the Owasco classification described by Ritchie in New York state. Surely, here is a site which should be excavated, even though the material is comparatively scanty in amount, and the site not as productive in quantity as some of those already excavated by this Society.

Passing up the North River another two miles one comes again on the north bank to the site already referred to as the Henderson Site (M-36-1) which is without question one of the richest great villages in eastern Massachusetts. This site extends along the North River bank on its first terrace for about a quarter of a mile on either side of Union Bridge. Sheltered from the north by a long range of sandy hills, the site contains a never failing spring and two brooks, one of them known as Second Herring Brook. At its western extremity the North River takes a right angled bend, the upper portion of the River having flowed northward for five miles from Hanover to this point and the lower portion turning nearly east as it flows down to the sea. We have already speculated

on the possibility that this site perhaps represented the junction of overland routes of transport with waterway routes to the east and south. There is also some possibility that a fording place was available here for further overland travel to the south-east toward Marshfield and Plymouth.

From the great, still-cultivated fields which comprise this site, many large surface collections have been obtained by collectors throughout the South Shore and Plymouth areas, as well as from points as distant as Rhode Island. The owner of the richest portion of the site has a tremendous family collection which has never been catalogued. The following figures from my own collection will give an indication of its character: grooved axes - 2; polished-edge gouges - 4; well finished adzes - 4; pestles - 3; plummets - 10; doughnut type perforated sinker - 1; banner stones - 3; specialized abrading stones and bone-sharpeners - 4; fragments of soapstone pots - 30, 8 of which are portions of rims. Of the flaked implements, practically all are beautifully finished. They include 12 drills; 85 leaf-shaped blades and points; 22 corner-removed; 17 side-notched; 60 small triangularoids, of which only 2 or 3 are of the broad-based type already described at the Neal Gate site. There are numerous problematical forms such as any such prolific site is likely to produce. No clay pottery has been recovered.

Of great interest from the point of view of this paper is the fact that there are three large flaked hoes and a portion of a huge blade of a material nowhere else seen in this region, which is indistinguishable from specimens of the Kineo felsite. Likewise there is a well abraded piece of plumbago which could have come geologically from no nearer source than Rhode Island or the areas in Massachusetts adjacent to the Rhode Island border. Similarly soapstone or steatite is unknown in any natural source in this portion of Massachusetts but could have been imported from Rhode Island or the closely adjacent area to the east or north of Rhode Island. A single soapstone fragment has been found on the Hatherly Site but aside from this it is uncommon in this region; yet there is a profusion of it on this site. In my collection I have also a characteristic piece of hematite from the Henderson site which is probably an importation from some more distant region. In no other site in southeast Massachusetts do I know of more examples of imported materials from the south and west than on the Henderson Site, and the more characteristic picture in most sites is that only one or two pieces of such foreign materials have been found. Thus from the surface collection alone it is possible to postulate that trade routes brought to the Henderson Site materials at least from the Narragansett Bay region and possibly even from Maine. The fact that the geography of the region suggests clearly a water-borne inland route to Narragansett Bay, by way of the Taunton River and the Pembroke Ponds, fits in neatly with the findings from this

site and suggests that our speculations concerning the activities of maritime peoples on this river are not too wide of the mark.

In summary I have tried in this paper to suggest a means of utilizing scanty evidence from surface collections as possible confirmation of geographical speculations of a very broad nature. The reader must decide for himself whether such a method of reconstruction in our imagination of the factors in the life of a pre-historic people is of any value. I have tried to show that the amateur archaeologist, if he catalogues his surface collections according to the sites from which they were obtained, can sometimes secure, from even an admittedly incomplete technique, data which may be of value in the study of ancient cultures. This is literally merely scratching the surface, but if it can serve to stimulate further study of the archaeology of a region by better means, it may serve a useful purpose.

I should like to plead for such overall thinking about archaeological problems in regions in this state as this paper attempts to accomplish. Investigation of many of the sites included in this study should be undertaken by classical excavation methods. Some of us do not have the leisure available to accomplish this and we must be willing to hand over to professionally trained archaeologists the privilege of that further study. But there are many amateurs whose information about their own region would justify such a preliminary study as this one as an indication of the directions in which excavations may proceed to accomplish more definitive studies. It is to be hoped that further studies will be made, particularly of such problems as the Neal Gate Site and the Henderson site, in order to add stratigraphic evidence about the relationship of such different cultures as are represented on these two sites. In the meantime we should do what we can to correlate our scanty information about the interrelationship of cultures in adjoining geographic regions. By proper cataloguing of site collections, and particularly by study of the materials from which artifacts are made in relation to their geologic sources, we can learn much in various regions of Massachusetts. The fruits of excavation are largely vertical, in the attempt to reproduce a time sequence downward through the earth, from the stratum of a recent culture down to an earlier one below it. But there is such a thing as horizontal archaeology, in which by area comparisons we attempt to study the geographical extent of cultures that are similar. In this field, even the humble amateur can dream of making a contribution.

Cohasset, Massachusetts
November 10, 1948

A POT FROM NOOK FARM CAMP SITE, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

William W. Whiting

In 1936 the Nook Farm people had a new tractor, and in plowing the Nook Site they set the plow to go deeper than they had been plowing it in years before. This deeper plowing hit the tops of pits and small shell heaps nearly all over the site which had never showed before.

The main large shell heap is located on the easterly side of the camp site and is from about twenty-five to fifty yards wide, and about one hundred yards long. The shell in this area is from scattered shell to shell from four to eight inches in depth. This east side of the field is bordered by a small swamp with a small brook running through it. This brook is the head water to Wellingsley Brook and was much larger before the trout hatchery was built below. The driving of a few hundred small Artesian wells to develop the trout hatchery sapped the water from the springs above which supplied the water for the brook which had its origin near the camp site. The whole site is about three hundred yards long by about one hundred yards wide and is nearly surrounded by hills formed by the glacier.

When the Plymouth Group had their dig there in one of the years before the war, we laid out a small area by squares in the main shell heap on the knoll near the swamp and brook. We found so many shell and refuse pits, and so many interlapping post molds that it was impossible to determine the outline of any individual hut. This led us to believe that the Indians must have lived there for a very long period of years. After finding that the shell pits and small shell heaps are interspersed all over the whole site we were forced to believe that huts were also lived in from time to time over the whole site, and that we would find the same condition of interlapping post molds if it were all excavated. We have found many steatite sherds at this site which leads us to believe that it dates back to the years before agriculture. There are also other reasons which led us to believe that this was an old site, and these we brought out in an article titled "Pits at the Nook Farm Camp Site," *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society*, Vol. VII, No. 2, January 1946.

I went up there one afternoon in the fall of 1946 and started to dig out what I thought was a shell pit, but as I kept scraping with my little hoe I found it to be a small shell heap, and the clam shells started to come out nearly all whole. Soon there appeared quite a large rim sherd of a decorated ceramic pot. This surprised me very much for I had made statements that there were no

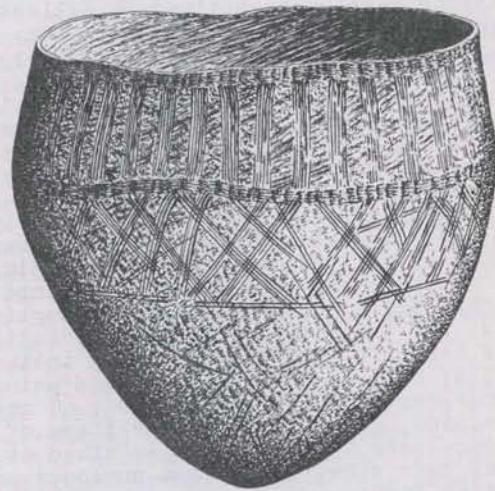


Fig. 8 - Restoration of a pot of the Inter-mediate Period from Nook Farm, Plymouth.

decorated pots at this site, but I did not take into consideration the fact that only a very small portion of the site had ever been dug when I drew that conclusion. So I hope I have learned my lesson now. As I dug along a little further there was another large rim sherd from the same pot, and then another. Then I started to think that maybe I had a pot here that might have a chance to be restored. I decided to get Jesse Brewer, knowing that he knew more about taking out pot sherds than I.

Jesse came back with me and we dug the whole shell heap and we found most of the sherds of the decorated pot on the north side of the shell heap. The shell ran from three to six inches deep here, but when we got to the center of the shell heap the shell ran over a foot deep.

The shell heap was exactly round and was nine feet across. There was about eight inches of humus over the shell, and the shell was basin shaped in thickness, running from hardly any on the outside edge of the circle, gradually growing deeper until it got to be over a foot deep in the center. There was a large pit under the center of the shell heap four feet across. This pit ran down about eighteen more inches and was filled with black refuse, particles of charcoal, red and gray ash and finely cracked up clam shell. All the shells in the main shell heap were common clam shells and nearly all were whole.

We think that the pit must have been of older origin and that the shell heap must

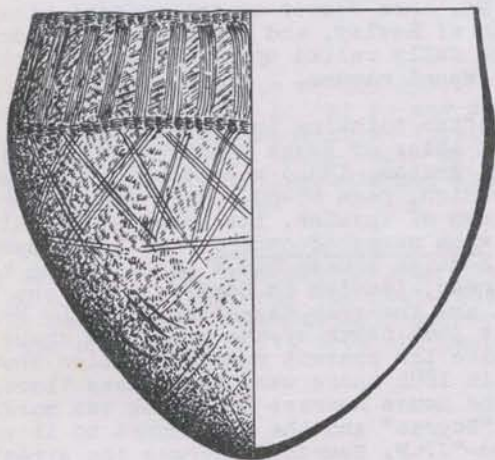


Fig. 9 - Cross section of pot from the Nook Farm, Plymouth, to show variations in thickness of walls. Collection of William W. Whiting.

have just happened to be thrown on top of it. We found sherds from a cord wrapped pot down deeper in the shell, some of them being in the top of the pit.

Artifacts from the pit comprised white quartz flakes, two white quartz snubbed circular scrapers probably used between the thumb and finger, one stemmed flinty slate scraper and one of the same type of felsite. There were also two antler points.

I worked evening after evening for weeks trying to put this pot together. I finally got nearly all the rim sherds together, but I had it spread too much, making it seem as if I had only about three-quarters of the rim. Finally I told Mr. William Fowler of the Attleboro Museum about it and he said to bring it up and he would see what he could do about it. He put in three solid weeks work on it and now at last I have a beautiful pot, which I feel I owe entirely to him. Also some beautiful illustrations done by him.

I now quote Mr. Fowler's description of the pot:

"PERIOD - Intermediate, (second stage of development, probably well along in the period).

SIZE OF RESTORED POT - 12 inch diameter at mouth, 12½ inches high.

TRAITS - Straight in-sloping neck; shell temper; no coiling indicated; 3/8 inch walls at base and at widest circumference of body where the neck terminates, walls are drawn

to 3/16 inch in thickness in neck toward the lip and again in the central area of the body; surface is cord-wrapped paddled and stick-wiped only within; decoration is by trailing and the push-and-pull techniques; design covers neck and about half the body just below; design elements are a series of six line linear vertical stripes about four inches in length from top to bottom of neck, terminated at each end by a six line linear push-and-pull horizontal band encircling the pot. Below the neck the element changes to diamond shapes made by the intercrossing of linear stripes of from two to four lines, terminated by a horizontal two line linear border. Trailed designs were apparently made by dragging the end of sticks that had been notched with from two to six prongs. The elaboration of design elements shows individual origination and probably independent invention, as the elements differ from other trailed design motifs of New England pottery. The condition of the pot shows signs of crumbling due apparently to extreme heat from within, as the inside areas are thickly encrusted with carbon with some sherds showing evidence of having been charred all the way through.

REMARKS - This pot, which is an excellent example of early straight neck conoidal construction of the intermediate period, because of its shell temper, was evidently a local product of coastal ceramics. Two sections of the bowl at almost opposite points extending from the neck into the body have a series of sherds that are contiguous. These give the true contour of the body. Three sections of the neck, representing almost the complete circumference, each has sherds that are also contiguous, leaving no doubt as to the diameter of the pot and its neck's inward slope. One large segment of the conoidal base is intact with several other associated deeply convex sherds that complete the basal area. Being given the basal and body contours of the pot, it has been possible without conjecture or exaggeration to determine within a close tolerance the location of each section in relation to each other, and to complete the restoration.

The internal charring suggests the burning of the pot's contents.

At Derby, Connecticut, a conoidal pot was recovered - now in the collection of Norris Bull. It has a similar shape, but is plain, not decorated."

Plymouth, Mass.
July, 1948

A CACHE FROM IPSWICH:II. TWO LETTERS

Howard A. Jones

We print below two letters from Mr. Howard A. Jones on the subject of "A Cache from Ipswich," by Wendell S. Hadlock. The first of these letters was addressed to Mr. Hadlock, the second, to Mr. Ernest S. Dodge, in whose care the blades under discussion now repose.

We have already commended Mr. Jones for his keenness (Department of Curious Coincidences, Massachusetts Archaeological Society Bulletin, IX;1) but we are now glad to award him the palm, for this latest piece of detective work has completed the record which was left incomplete some sixty years ago.

July 22, 1948

Dear Mr. Hadlock:

I have just received my Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, Volume IX, No. 4, and I have read with great interest your article "A Cache from Ipswich." So many of these interesting and important "Finds" get "lost" in museums, and nothing is ever published regarding them so that many of the interested public never have a chance to learn about them.

In the case of "A Cache from Ipswich" I have a little further information which may apply:

About ten years ago I dropped in to Mr. Jewett's Old Book Shop which he maintained on Route 1A just over the Ipswich line in Rowley. On his desk, serving as a paper weight, was an Indian gouge. I knew Mr. Jewett very well and as he was not particularly interested in Indian things, I obtained this gouge from him and naturally tried to find out whence it came. He told me he had just got it with some books from a neighbor down the road and he supposed it came from his farm. He said they found Indian stuff there when they plowed. In fact, many years ago they plowed into a mess of big spear points buried in the ground, enough to fill a bucket. Pressed for more details, he told me this was down the road (Route 1A) on the easterly side in Ipswich about opposite the pumping station. As I drove back, I looked at the place and there a little back from the road was a plowed field, and immediately south of it a nice brook flowed under the road and apparently made the southern boundary of the lot. It looked like good Indian country, but the whole area was plastered with "No Trespassing" signs so I lost interest. When I read your article and noted that apparently the location of this cache has been lost, Mr. Jewett's story immediately came to mind.

Mr. Amos Jewett is the eminent historian of Rowley, and I am sure his story can be fully relied upon, even though told in a casual manner.

After thinking this over, I hauled out my old Atlas of Essex County (Geo. H. Walker & Co., Boston, 1884) and looked at the map of Ipswich, page 88-89. Here was pictured the town of Ipswich, its streets and buildings with names of owners. In 1884 there were a dozen houses and a school along the main road, Ipswich to Rowley, up by the town line, and the spot described to me by Mr. Jewett just north of the brook and about opposite the present pumping station shows that in 1884 there were two houses there, and the house nearest the brook was marked just "Nourse" and the next house to it was marked "J. W. Nourse." Across the street a few yards further north was a house marked "E. Bailey."

Here then we have three items of information:-

1. That a cache of spear points was presented to the [Peabody] museum by John W. Nourse of Ipswich in 1888, and a further part of same lot by Mrs. E. H. Bailey, Mrs. Emily Bailey, and Mrs. Jane Bailey.

2. That in 1884 J. W. Nourse owned a house on the easterly side of the Ipswich to Rowley road just north of the brook which crosses the road nearest to the Ipswich-Rowley line, and that a near neighbor was E. Bailey.

3. That a cache of spear points was plowed up many years ago on land east of the Ipswich-Rowley road just north of the brook.

Each of these items by itself has no weight in establishing the location of this particular cache, but the three items taken together, I believe, are a strong indication of where this cache may have been found.

Probably more information could be developed from these leads.

I also wish to call to your attention an article by J. J. H. Gregory in The American Naturalist, Volume IV (1871), pages 483-487, on Indian Stone Implements in which he mentions a find of a cache, or "Indian pocket" as he calls them, of roughed out specimens, nearly a peck, on the Freeto farm in Marblehead, also mentions a similar find in Hadley, Mass. He also comments that these "Indian pockets" of roughed out artifacts, are apparently limited in quantity by what one man could easily carry, and are carried

A CACHE FROM IPSWICH:II. TWO LETTERS
from the quarry to the camp site to be completed at leisure.

Thought the above might be of interest to you. If you can make any use of this information, I shall be glad to have you do so.

August 25, 1948

Dear Mr. Dodge:

Thanks for your letter of the 23rd. Since writing my previous letter on the subject [of "A Cache of Spearpoints in Ipswich"] I have been to Rowley and talked with Mr. Jewett and he has definitely confirmed the exact location of the find.

He tells me that Mr. John Nourse was plowing and turned up this cache of 46 spearpoints on his farm (formerly the Robt. Mussey farm.) It was at the southeasterly corner of his farm only about 3 ft. from the rather

47
high bank of Egypt River, at the head of tidewater (normal tide - on high run of tides salt water comes right up to the Bay Road, the present main highway from Ipswich to Rowley). The find created quite a bit of excitement in the neighborhood and Mr. Jewett knew about and saw the points the same day they were found. Many points were given to neighbors and later the remainder were sent to the Peabody Museum, Salem. Mr. Jewett mentions this find on page 225 of his last history, "Rowley, Massachusetts - Mr. Ezechi Rogers Plantation, 1639-1850," by Amos Everett Jewett and Emily Mabel Adams Jewett, 1946.

Glad we have been able to establish the location definitely.

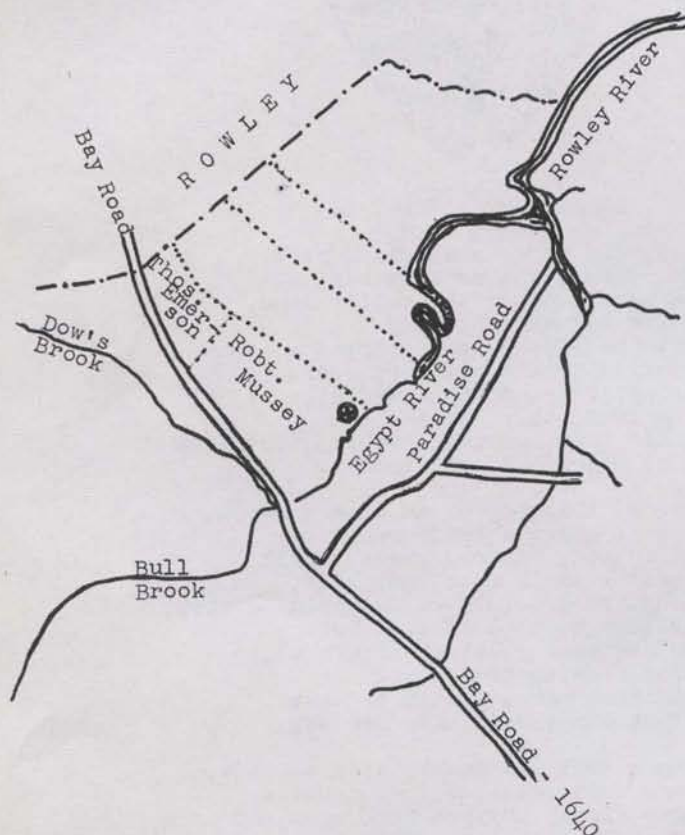
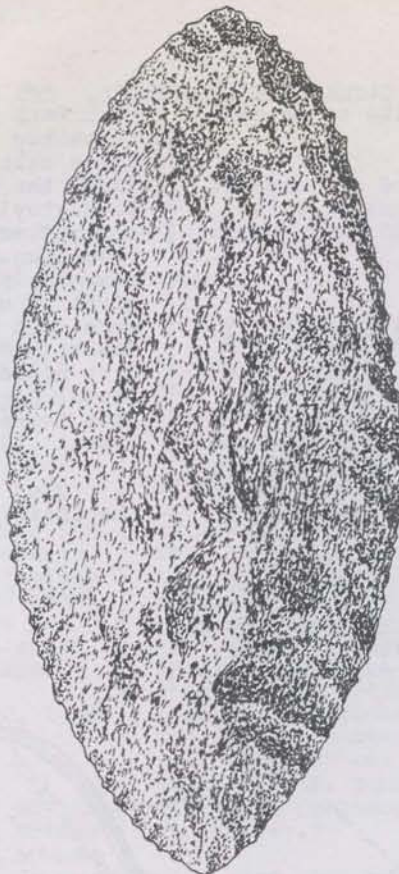


Fig. 10 - Copy of a portion of the Map of Ipswich Village, 1640, taken from the map shown opposite page 304 in "Rowley, Massachusetts: Mr. Ezechi Rogers Plantation, 1639-1850," by Amos Everett Jewett and Emily Mabel Adams Jewett, 1946. See page 225 of the above book: "Some years ago a cache of 46 spearheads was unearthed on this farm near the head of tidewater. The X on the land of Robert Mussey marks the spot where cache of spear points was plowed up by John Nourse, the owner of the property in 1886. (From information furnished by Amos E. Jewett to Howard A. Jones.)"



AN ANCIENT BLADE

One lucky day along a woodland road
I made my way, and as I strode,
My eyes were ever on the yellow sand,
Alert for evidence at hand
An Indian had flaked and chipped a stone
By pressure from a piece of bone,
Into an artifact of shape and size
That he could ably utilize
To bag his game, or game secured, to dress
It there within his wilderness.

The careful chipping of an edge exposed,
Drew me to where a knife reposed
Unseen for many hundred years, until
I chanced to walk upon that hill,
And bring the precious blade again to view,
A privilege accorded few.
In form ovate, a point at either end,
In color a delightful blend
By patination made, of tan and gray,
As Nature needs must have her way.

In width a full two inches side to side,
And more than twice as long as wide;
Its edges finely chipped both keen and true,
As free from damage as when new;
And over all appearing thin enough
For beauty, and yet strong and tough;
In truth an artifact so nicely wrought,
That one cannot suppress the thought
It may have served a useful part
In savage ceremonial art.

(Drawing by William S. Fowler)

Adrian P. Whiting
Plymouth, Massachusetts